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1. अनर्गलस्वात्ममये महेशे तिष्ठन्ति यस्मिन् विभुशक्तयस्ताः ।

तं शक्तिमन्तं प्रणमामि देवं मन्यानसंज्ञं जगदेकसारम् ॥

K.S. (A), 28.

2-3. यदाहुः श्रीभूतिराजगुरुवः "क्षेपाज्ज्ञानाच्च काली कलनवशतयार्थे" इति । एष च अर्थः तत्र तत्र मन्दिरचित्ते विवरणे प्रकरणादौ वितत्य वीक्ष्यः ।

T.S., pp. 30-31.

4. इत्थं जडेन सम्बन्धे न मुख्या ध्यर्थसंगतिः ।

आस्तामन्यत्र विततमेतद्विस्तरतो मया ॥

T.A., 10.44.

Jayaratha explains the word 'Anyatra' thus--

अन्यत्रेति प्रकीर्णकविवरणादी ।

T.A.V., VII, p. 33.

5. Vide Abhi., pp. 28-38.

6. Contribution, p. 356.



their difference does not remain tenable. According to Nagarajan<sup>1</sup> it is a grammatico-philosophical work. If one accepts this contention, which one should, their distance vanishes. Because even the two contexts resemble each other in the respect that the books in question are purported to answer the grammatical and derivational requirements and analyse ensuing implications of the philosophical concepts. Let us, however, await the verdict of future investigation on it. The single work called *Tantrāloka* is sufficient to make him the doyen of the monistic philosophers of Kashmir. For fear of repetition no reference is being made to its varied contents. However, Āhnikas 4, 13, 31 and 32 specially deal with the Krama system while Āhnikas 1, 3, 9, 15 and 30 contain brief but useful information about Krama. The *Tantrasāra* is an abridged *Tantrāloka*. Its Āhnikas 4 and 13 are particularly relevant. The former presents a masterly epitome of the Krama ideals. The *Kramakeli*<sup>2</sup> is an important Krama text. Although it is a commentary on the *Krama Stotra* of an earlier author, it speaks of the originality and vast comprehension of its author's mind. At present our knowledge is limited to references only made by himself,<sup>3</sup> Kṣemarāja,<sup>4</sup>

1. *Ibid.*

2. While in Kashmir (1963 Summer) we made an extensive search to trace out its manuscript. We were told by Pt. D.N. Yaksa of the Sanskrit Section of Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar that a MS of the *Kramakeli* was available with Mr. Somanatha Razdan of Purshiar, Aba Kadal (2nd bridge), Srinagar, but it was difficult to procure from him. The personal meeting with the gentleman resulted in the impression that he had inherited a large treasure of rare MSS from his grandfather, an avowed Sanskritist. But he could not be persuaded even to allow us to have a look of the text, not to talk of parting with it. Even the monetary temptations failed. On a later date Prof. B.N. Pandit of Khannabal informed us that he knew of one MS of the *Kramakeli* in possession of a person whom he knew. But his efforts, too, were doomed to failure.

3. व्याख्यातं चैतन्मया तदटीकायामेव क्रमकेलौ विस्तरतः ।

P.T.V., p. 236.

4. यथोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिः क्रमकेलौ —  
श्रीमत्सदाशिवपदेऽपि गतोप्रकाली  
भीमोत्कटभ्रुकुटिरेष्यति भंगभूमिः ॥

S.St.V., p. 159.

Jayaratha<sup>1</sup> and Maheśvarānanda.<sup>2</sup> The only thing worthy of note is that it was also liable to two sorts of interpretation with regard to its stand about the full-size controversy on the correct number of Kālīs. Jayaratha is very insistent that the *Krama Stotra* (of Siddhanātha), and for that matter Abhinava, did not budge an inch from the twelve-kālī theory.<sup>3</sup> But on the other hand, Maheśvarānanda tends to show him as supporting thirteen-kālī theory.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, so far as the question of interpreting Abhinava is concerned, it is more advisable to abide by Jayaratha not only because of his *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka*, but also because of his claim that he was in possession of the original tradition which started with Śivānanda and was actuated by Abhinavagupta.

A brief explanation would perhaps be necessary for exclusion of the *Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra* from amongst the Krama works, since the same has been taken as a Krama text by some authors.<sup>5</sup> The stotra, in question, eulogizes the physical body as an abode of spirituality, and each constituent organ of the body has a particular divinity stationed in it. This theme is taken to be a particular aspect of the Krama system. In fact, the things do not appear to be so. This is a general feature of the Kashmir Saivism and consequently all the systems comprising it share this notion.<sup>6</sup> Hence it has not been considered to be a Krama work.

1. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 162, 191.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 104, 106, 127, 156, 178, 179, 190, 192. For the English rendering of these extracts see *Abhi.*, pp. 482-84.

3. एवं क्रमकेलावप्येतद्गर्भकारेण यदनेन ग्रन्थकृता व्याख्यातं तन्नापि अन्यथा न किञ्चित् संभाव्यम् ।

*T.A.V.*, III, p. 191.

4. ताश्च इहैकैकत्र सृष्ट्यादौ चक्ररूपता विद्यते इति श्रीक्रमकेलिब्लूतया...इति द्वादशानामिन्द्रियस्फुरत्तानाम् 'अनाद्यभासासयोरत्र नोपदिष्टः पृथङ्मनुः' इति स्थित्या सर्वानुस्यूतया तुरीयसम्मिलतया भासाभट्टारिकया त्रयोदशीभूतया परिस्पन्दतयाध्यवसीयते ।

*M.M.P.*, p. 104.

5. *Vide Abhi.*, p. 485.

6. It may, further, be noted that such a theory in particular may be associated with the Kula system. Cf. *N.T.* 12.1-4; *T.A.V.*, I, p. 23.



(xxiv) *Kṣemarāja* (975-1125 A.D.)

An illustrious student of an illustrious teacher, *Kṣemarāja* may be ascribed to the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. He was both *Abhinava's* cousin and a pupil.<sup>1</sup> Of all *Abhinava's* students he is the only figure who is mentioned by name by *Madhurāja Yogin* in his *Gurunātha-parāmarśa*.<sup>2</sup> After an examination of the available data, *Dr. Pandey* has established *Vāmadeva*, *Abhinava's* uncle, to be his father.<sup>3</sup> Among his own pupils he mentions, *inter alia*, *Śūra* or *Śūrāditya*, son of *Guṇāditya*, for whose enlightenment most of his works were written.<sup>4</sup> Among others he includes *Śrīrāma*, *Raktika Bhaṭṭa*, *Gargeśa* with particular reference to the *Netra Tantra*,<sup>5</sup> and *Keśava*. Besides *Abhinava* he mentions *Prayāga* as his teacher.<sup>6</sup> There were probably a few more teachers according to a hint thrown by himself. Accordingly *Śaṅkarājñādhara* was also probably his teacher.<sup>7</sup>

The present enquiry is concerned with *Kṣemarāja* as an eminent post-*Abhinava* *Krama* thinker. He seems to have profound knowledge of the system and in his *Uddyota* on the *Netra*

1. *Vde T.A.*, 37.67.

2. आसीनः क्षेमराजप्रभृतिभिरखिलैः सेवितः शिष्यवर्गः ।

Verse No. 4.

3. *Abhinava*, p. 254.

4. *St.C.V.*, p. 130; *N.T.U.*, II, p. 343; *Sp.N.*, p. 77.

5. *N.T.U.*, II, p. 343—

संसाररिपुनिर्माथशूरः शूरसमाश्रयः ।

श्रीरामादिगुरुग्रामस्तथान्तेवासिनोऽपरे ॥

भट्टरक्तिगर्भेशकेशवाद्या इहार्थनाम् ।

अकार्षुर्मे ततः किञ्चिदिदमुद्योतितं मया ॥

6. श्रीब्रह्मदेवादिगुरुकमाद्यः श्रुत्वा गिरं व्याकृतवान्स्वतन्त्रम् ।

श्रीमान्प्रयागो गुरुवस्तथान्ये तेऽभ्यर्थनायां पुनरप्रवृत्तौ ।

*Sv. T.V.*, VI. (15th Paṭala), p. 146.

7. उद्योतेऽत्र तमामृशन्तु गुरुवः श्रीशंकराज्ञाधराः..... ।

*Ibid.*, II, p. 332.

This line may also be construed to mean that *Śaṅkara* and *Ājñādhara* both were his teachers. In this case there would be two persons instead of one as suggested above.

*Tantra* he refers to *Krama* as a distinct system.<sup>1</sup> In fact it is to single out even a small work except the *Vṛtti* on the *Stava-cintāmaṇi* from his printed works in which he has not specifically referred to the *Krama* or *Mahārtha* system. In his *Uddyota* on the *Svacchanda Tantra* he does the same.<sup>2</sup> The *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*<sup>3</sup> and *Śiva-stotrāvalī-vṛti*<sup>4</sup> abound in references to *Krama*. Likewise, his commentary on the *Śiva-sūtras* called *Vimarśinī*<sup>5</sup> and those on the *Spanda-kārikās* known as *Spanda-sāmtoha*<sup>6</sup> (on the first *Sp. K.* alone) and *Spanda-nirṇaya*<sup>7</sup> are no exception to the rule. His attachment to the system appears to be so deep that he spares no opportunity to elucidate, present or expound the *Krama* tenets. He even goes to the length of interpreting the entire *Spanda* philosophy in terms of *Krama*.<sup>8</sup> His own pronouncements make it sure that he planned and achieved this on conscious level. In addition, he also commented upon certain *sūtras* from the *Krama-sūtras* by some earlier authority.<sup>9</sup> This incidence has prompted scholars to credit him with the authorship of a *Tikā* on the *Krama-sūtras*.<sup>10</sup> However, the bulk of available material fails to substantiate it conclusively. Because

1. अतश्च अयं प्रणवादि साधारणमन्त्रान्तराणां क्रमकुलमतपडर्धादिविशेषमंत्राणामपि च वाचकत्वात् ।

*M.T.U.*, II, p. 11.

2. *Sv.T.V.*, I, p. 11.

3. *Vide* pp. 58-59, 64-66, 69-71, 77-78, 81, 85-86, 92-94, 101-02, etc.

4. *Vide* pp. 32, 48, 55, 106, 140, 159, 199, 206, 340, 348 etc.

5. The 2nd chapter deals with *Śāktopāya* which is identical with the *Krama* system, *vide* pp. 20-23.

6. *Vide* pp. 8, 11-12, 16, 19-22.

7. *Vide* pp. 6-7, 20, 38, 42, 49, 62, 74.

8. एवम्...प्रथमचरमसूत्राभ्यां महार्थतत्त्वम्...इति स्पन्दतत्त्वेनैव विश्वोपदेशः स्वीकृताः ।

*Sp.N.*, p. 49.

एवं चोपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकारोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य ।

*Ibid.* p. 74.

9. तदुक्तं पूर्वगुरुभिः स्वभाषामयेषु क्रमसूत्रेषु ।

*P.Hr.*, p. 77.

यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेषु...। अत्रायमर्थः ।

*Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

10. *Abhi.*, pp. 256-57, 485-86.



nowhere—neither in the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* where a reference has been made to the two sūtras of the *Krama-sūtras* and their explanation by Kṣemarāja,<sup>1</sup> nor in the *Parimala* of Maheśvarānanda<sup>2</sup> wherein the entire portion with regard to the *Krama-sūtras* has been adopted *verbatim* from the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*—one comes across any statement to the effect that he wrote a commentary on it. Hence it is doubtful and difficult both to maintain his having written such a work. But he did write some works pretty clear from his own and Maheśvarānanda's statements to this effect. The latter is indebted to him for his exposition of Pañcavāha, a Krama concept.<sup>3</sup> Extracts from his own Stotras in *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*<sup>4</sup> and *Śiva-stotrāvalī-vivṛti*<sup>5</sup> entertain an unmistakable Krama undertone.

Dr. Pandey has enumerated as many as eighteen works that are ascribed to Kṣemarāja.<sup>6</sup> The mere number of the works attempted makes him a formidable author. The list of Dr. Natarajan swells upto twenty.<sup>7</sup> But the following works noticed by Dr. Pandey, are missed by him :

(i) *Dhvanyālokalocanoddyota*

(ii) A Commentary on the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*

(iii) A Commentary on the *Krama-sūtra*

1. *Vide*, Fn. Nos. 9 and 10 on p. 167.

2. यदुक्तं श्रीक्रमसूत्रेषु... यथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन ।

*M.M.P.*, p. 166.

3. एताश्च श्रीक्षेमराजादिभिः पुस्तकेषु लिखितपठिता इत्यस्माभिरपि नामोपादानपूर्वकं चाकित्येन व्याख्याता इति ।

*Ibid.*, p. 90.

4. स्तुतं च मया—स्वतंत्रश्चित्चक्राणां चक्रवर्ती महेश्वरः ।

संवित्तिदेवताचक्रजुष्टः कोऽपि जयत्यसौ ॥ इति,

p. 101.

5. तथा च ममैव—प्रज्ञामन्दरमन्थितासममहाभेदोदधेरुद्गता-

न्यक्षाक्षेपविवर्तनाभिरभितो दुग्धामृतान्यादरात् ।

वंचित्वा कुविकल्पदैव्यविरहं भूतीरनादृत्य ये

पायं पायमहो पिबन्ति जगति श्लाघ्यास्त एवामराः ॥ इति,

p. 296.

6. *Vide Abhi.*, pp. 254-56.

7. *Vide Contribution*, pp. 363-64.

(iv) A *Stotra*

(v) *Vṛtti* on the *Parameśa Stotrāvali* of Utpala.

The following works recorded by Natarajan, however, seem to have escaped notice of Dr. Pandey :

(i) *Ṣaṭtrimśat-tattva-saṁdoha*

(ii) *Paramārtha Saṁgraha*

(iii) *Vāmodaya*

(iv) *Śivastotra*

(v) *Spandanilaya*

(vi) *Svacchandana*

It is unfortunate that Dr. Natarajan has not disclosed the sources of his information in connection with the works noted above.

A few necessary remarks might be welcome here. His *Uddyota* on the *Vijñāna-bhairava* is available only upto the 23rd verse. Śivopādhyāya starts his commentary from the 24th verse<sup>1</sup> finding Kṣemarāja's commentary henceforward mutilated beyond repairs. The *Sāmba-pañcāśikā* on which he wrote a commentary, published long ago, is a work of some Sāmba Miśra according to the *Rjuvimarśinī*. Its full name, therefore, is the *Sāmba-miśra-pañcāśikā* and the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* is only an abbreviated form.<sup>2</sup> Hence Kṣemarāja's commentary was also known as *Sāmba-miśra-pañcāśikā-vivṛti*. The *Bhairavānukaraṇa Stotra* from which Kṣemarāja has preserved fourteen verses in his *Vivṛti* on the *Svacchanda Tantra*<sup>3</sup> is not fortunately lost to us. Gnoli has published this *Stotra*<sup>4</sup> which he found in the same manuscript belonging to a private collection in which he found five stanzas of Abhinavagupta. In all there are 48 verses out of which stanzas 16-21, 22, 24-29, 31 are quoted in the *Svacchanda Tantra* and verse 3 in the *Sāmba-pañcāśikā*.

1. श्रुतं देव मयेस्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थबन्धनम् ।

ऊर्ध्वं प्राणादिपद्यान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥

*V.Bh.V.*, p. 143.

2. साम्बमिश्रपञ्चाशिकाविवृत्तिरचने श्रीक्षेमराजाचार्यकृते द्रष्टव्यम् ।

*Rjuvimarśinī* by Śivānanda, Ed B.V. Dvivedī, p. 229.

3. *Sv. T.V.*, VI, pp. 110-20 (14th Paṭala).

4. *Miscellanea Indica* ( *Bhairavānukaraṇa Stotra* by Kṣemarāja ), East & West (New series) IX-3, Sep, 1958, pp. 223-26.



The metre of the verses is Āryā. The *Stotra* is dedicated to the homage of Cidbhairava. Similarly, one manuscript of the *Paramārthasārasaṅgraha-Vivṛti* is available at the BORI, Poona.<sup>1</sup> A comparative look into the contents of the MS with the one written by Yogarāja proves beyond doubt their absolute identity and it is through a scribe's mistake that the authorship has been confused. The colophon ascribes the work to a student of Kṣemarāja.<sup>2</sup> Regarding other works there is no fresh material to add.

But this does not close the list of his possible ventures. Apart from his suspected Krama works, he quotes from his own unnamed work in the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*.<sup>3</sup> Jayaratha also cites a passage from him without specifying the precise source.<sup>4</sup> There is a verse in the *Śiva-sūtra-vārttika*<sup>5</sup> by Varadarāja which raises serious doubts as to whether Kṣemarāja wrote a commentary on the *Tantrasāra* as well. For want of any internal or collateral evidence the possibility of such a work is not very strong. Śrīnivāśabudha, the author of the *Tātparyadīpikā* on the *Triṣurā Rahasya* cites a verse from Kṣemarāja.<sup>6</sup> But the same verse is attributed to the *Āgamarahasya* by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in the *Spanda*

1. MS. No. 459 of 1875-76.

2. श्रीमत्क्षेमराजस्य सद्गुर्वाम्नायशालिनः ।

साक्षात्कृतमहेशस्य तस्यान्तेवासिना मया ॥

MS. No. 459, folio. 33a.

3. P. 45.

4. तदुक्तं श्रीक्षेमराजपादैः तदियत्पर्यन्तं यन्मातृकायास्तत्त्वं, तदेव ककारसकारप्रत्याहारेणानुत्तरविसर्गसंघट्टसारेण कूटबीजेन प्रदर्शितमन्त्रे ।

T.A.V., II, p. 178.

5. एतच्छ्रीक्षेमराजेन तन्त्रसारात् समुद्धृतैः ।

संवादैः संमतैः सम्यग्वर्णितं निजवृत्तिगैः ॥

S.S.V., 2.13-14.

6. यदुक्तं क्षेमराजाचार्यैः—

ये त्वीश्वरं व्यपदिशन्ति निमित्तहेतुं

दत्तस्तिलांजलिस्त्रीभिरिहेषितायै ।

अन्यांगतोपगमनेन वशीकृतस्य

कामीश्वरस्थितिममी बत संगिरन्ते ॥

T.R. (J.Kh.), pp. 104-05.

*Pradīpikā*.<sup>1</sup> Owing to Bhaṭṭa Utpala's chronological antiquity the proposition seems unlikely that Kṣemarāja was the author of this verse or the work from which the verse is quoted. In addition to these he has cited several other passages ascribed to himself,<sup>2</sup> which are not traceable to the available works either in print or manuscript. Among his works the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* was popular as *Śakti Sūtra*<sup>3</sup> and its commentary by him as *Śakti Sūtra Bhāṣya*<sup>4</sup> in the Tripurā circles. The *Kāmakalā-vilāsa* refers to it as the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*<sup>5</sup> and also as the *Pratyabhijñā-sūtra*<sup>6</sup>—a name that has been usually in vogue for Utpala's *Pratyabhijñā-kārikās* among the Śaivist schools.

The various stages in his creative thinking may be discerned in the chronological order on his own testimony.<sup>7</sup> He had his first philosophical encounter with the Spanda system. First, he wrote the *Spanda Samdoha* followed by the *Spanda Nirṇaya* in which he perceptibly deviated from the traditional Spanda schoolmen. The *Pratyabhijñā* was his next field in which he produced his two famous works namely, *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* and *Svacchanda-tantra-uddhṛta*. This was followed by his illustrious commentary on the *Śiva-sūtra* called *Vimarśinī*. Similarly his commentaries on the *Stava-cintāmaṇī* and *Netra Tantra*, too, came after that on the *Svacchanda Tantra*. During this period he continued his other literary and philosophical minor ventures allusions to which are splashed through all his works.<sup>8</sup>

He has tremendous respect for his teacher and has closely drawn on him for whatever has passed through under his pen. Yet he never compromised reason and originality with love and reverence. His own pronouncements to the effect amply bear

1. *Vide Sp.P.*, p. 23

2. *Sv.T.*, I, p. 108; VI, p. 16.

3. *Yoginīhṛdaya-dīpikā*, pp. 13, 16, 70, 107.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 70.

5. *K.K.V.*, p. 2.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 13, 26.

7. *S.S.Vi.*, pp. 3, 12; *Sp.N.*, pp. 1, 7; *P.Hr.*, p. 63; *St.C.V.*, p. 126.

8. *P.Hr.*, p. 84; *Sp.N.*, p. 13, 34, 36, 77; *S.S.Vi.*, p. 146; *Sv.T.*, I, p. 168.



out his claim.<sup>1</sup> In the last verse of his *Spanda Saṁdoha*<sup>2</sup> he makes it absolutely clear that though he owes much of the Spanda doctrine to Abhinava yet whatever he has written embodies his own reflections as well.

From the verses at the end of the *Vivṛti* on the *Stavacintāmaṇi* it is manifest that he lived at the Vijayēśvara, the modern Bijbihara (in Kashmiri Vyajibror), a town about thirty miles off Srinagar on the eastern side where, on persuasion of his pupil Śūra, he finished within a couple of days the writing of his commentary on the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa,<sup>3</sup> who was Kṣemarāja's grandteacher also.

Thus, there is no doubt that his contribution to the Kashmir Śaivism as well as the Krama system is inferior only to his redoubtable master.

(xxv) *Varadarāja* (1000—1050 A.D.) alias *Kṛṣṇadāsa*

Varadarāja perhaps did not write any treatise pertaining to Krama. The only factor that has necessitated his mention here consists in the fact that his work, *Śiva-sūtra-vārttika*, contains enough important material to indicate the historical development of the Krama concepts and ideas.<sup>4</sup> In the philosophical section of the thesis every opportunity has been exploited to deal with this aspect of his contributions in their relative contexts. In this connection it has to be noted that notwithstanding his enormous debt to Kṣemarāja, he does add a touch of his own with regard to the presentation of the Krama dicta.

The *Śivasūtravārttika* is his famous work which he has wholly drawn on Kṣemarāja's *Śivasūtravimarśinī* as confessed by

1. श्रुत्वा सम्यगिदं प्रभोरभिनवात्स्मृत्वा च किञ्चिन्मया ।

क्षेमेणाधिजनेन विद्वत् श्रीस्पन्दसूत्रं मनाक् ॥

2. तेनाधिप्रणयाद् दिनस्त्रिचतुरैर्यां क्षेमराजो व्यधात् ।

क्षेत्रे श्रीविजयेश्वरस्य विमले सैषा शिवाराधनी ॥

*St.C.V.*, p. 130; also see, Introduction. *Sv.T.*, I, p. vii.

3. विद्वत्त्रिधा तत्रभवत्स्तुतिसूक्तिकारप्रशिष्यमहामाहेश्वराचार्यश्रीमदभिनवगुप्तपादपद्मधुप-  
राजस्य राजानकक्षेमराजस्य ।

Colophon to *St.C.V.*, p. 13.

4. *Vide* his *Vārttika* on the *S.S.* 1.6, 7, 12, 17, 22; 2-5, 6; 3.16, 43.

him.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, he appears to have written a book called *Laghu-ṛtti-vimarśinī* whose manuscript is available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum.<sup>2</sup> In the opening verses the author calls himself as Kṛṣṇadāsa<sup>3</sup> (and this agrees with the colophon)<sup>4</sup> and tells that it is a commentary on the *Parātrimśikā*.<sup>5</sup> There is no problem in identifying the authors of the two works. Because in his *Vārttika* also he gives out his other name as Kṛṣṇadāsa.<sup>6</sup> Besides, at both the places he refers to Madhurāja. In the *Vārttika* he presents himself as his youngest son<sup>7</sup> and in the *Laghuṛttivimarśinī* as Mādhura's student.<sup>8</sup> In the latter work he throws a veiled hint at his being a direct disciple of Abhinava.<sup>9</sup> In fact Madhurāja and Mādhura are the same persons. Madhurāja himself refers to it in his *Gurunātha-*

1. महामाहेश्वरश्रीमत्क्षेमराजमुखोद्गताम् ।  
अनुसृत्यैव सद्रूतिर्मजसा क्रियते मया ॥  
वार्तिकं शिवसूत्राणां वाक्यैरेव तदीरितैः ।

*S.S.V.*, 1.5 6; also see 2.13-14; 3.214.

2. MS. No. 1074 D. C.O.L. No. 2108D, DCSMCOL, Trivandrum, Vol. V, p. 2401.

3. श्रीकृष्णदासः कुरुते लघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनीम् ।

*Ibid.*

4. इति श्रीकृष्णदासकृतिः श्रीलघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनी सम्पूर्णा ।

*Ibid.*

5. श्रीपरान्त्रिशिकाख्यस्य सूत्ररूपस्य त्रिकशास्त्रस्य अक्षरतो गुर्वी ग्रन्थतो लघीयसीं वृत्तिः  
...लघुवृत्तिं चिकीर्षुः तत्प्रतिज्ञेयमनुत्तरज्योतिरनुसंधत्ते ।

*Ibid.*

6. मया वरदराजेन... ।

कृतिना कृष्णदासेन व्यंजितं कृपयांजसा ।

*S.S.V.*, 3.124-15.

7. मधुराजकुमाराणां महाहन्ताधिरोहिणाम् ।

पश्चिमेन तदालोकवस्तपश्चिमजन्मना ।

*S.S.V.*, 3.213.

8. परानुत्तरसंघट्टपरमार्थप्रबोधकाः ।

जयन्त्यभिनवाचार्यचरणाम्भोजरेणवः ॥

श्रीमाधुरमहाचार्यचरणाम्भोजषट्पदः ।

श्रीकृष्णदास.....॥

DCSMCOL, Trivandrum, V., p. 2401.

9. See fn. 8 above.



*parāmarśa*.<sup>1</sup> According to P.N. Pushp, Mādhura is a place name and is identical with modern Madurai.<sup>2</sup> If such be the case, which it probably is owing to the extensive countrywide tours of Madhurāja, it forms a prelude to Kashmir's cultural and intellectual intercourse with the South that reached its culmination in Śivānanda, Mahāprakāśa and Maheśvarānanda from Cola (Modern Karnatak).

The date of Varadarāja may be settled easily. On the basis of a probable interpretation of the phrase used by Madhurāja e.g., "Siddha-viśākha-kṛpāmṛta-varṣe", Dr. Pandey hypothetically places Madhurāja in the Saptarsi year 4167 (1093 A.D.) when he was eighty years of age.<sup>3</sup> And if it is interpreted in terms of Kali era, the year of his birth comes to be 4087 Kali. On this latter calculation, he would be 28 years old during the year 4115 of Kali era (1014-15 A.D.) when the *Īśvara-Pratyabhiññavivṛti-vimarsinī* of Abhinava was completed.<sup>4</sup> This would naturally place Varadarāja somewhere between 1020-1080 A.D.

But on certain additional evidence Varadarāja seems to have flourished little earlier. The 38th verse of the *Gurunātha-parāmarśa* explicitly mentions Madhurāja's age at 74 when he first called on Abhinava.<sup>5</sup> He lived there for four years at his master's feet and was 78 when he composed *Gurunātha-parāmarśa*.<sup>6</sup> At that time Abhinava was alive. On the above

1. अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते वाचा सुधारसमुचा सह माधुरोऽहम् ।

Verse 39.

2. Prefatory to *Gurunāthaparāmarśa*, p. ii.

3. *Abhi.*, p. 259.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

5. चतुरधिकसप्ततितमे वर्षे मम वर्तमानेऽस्मिन् ।

पितुरधिगतमपि बाल्येऽप्यभिनवमिव भाति गुप्तमध्यापि ॥

6. विस्तीर्णसद्गुरुपदस्मरणप्लवेन निस्तीर्णभीमतरुमैरवधीप्रवाहः ।

अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते वाचासुधारसमुचा सह माधुरोऽहम् ॥

*G.N.P.*, verse. 39.

Dr. Pandey quotes this verse as No. 6 from the *Svātma-parāmarśa*. *Abhi*, p. 258.

calculation it would appear that Madhurāja visited Abhinava during 1060-61 A.D. and remained with him till 1064-65 A.D. This would be probably stretching the date of Abhinava beyond proportions. Moreover Varadarāja, though closely following Kṣemarāja, does not introduce himself as latter's pupil. Instead, he flashes a subtle hint that he was taught by Abhinava and Madhurāja both. In that case, he might have been of mature age when his father approached Abhinava, because then his father himself was 74. Since he follows the *Vimarśinī* of Kṣemarāja which was among the latter's last works, he comes to be his slightly junior contemporary and may be placed around 1000-1050 A.D.

It therefore seems likely that the interpretation of the verse, alluded to above, requires a further probe. In this connection we may suggest as a tentative measure that if the word Viśākha be interpreted as standing for number 'one' representing Kārttikeya (himself) instead of 'six' (representing his six faces) as taken by Dr. Pandey, we find the phrase "Siddha-viśākha-kṛpāmṛtavarṣe" will mean "in the year 4117 (and not 4167)." This will further mean that Madhurāja was eighty years old in 4117 (1016-17 A.D.) of Kali era. Thus he would be 78 years when Abhinavagupta completed his *Bṛhatī-vimarśinī*. Accordingly all events connected with Madhurāja, on this interpretation, will go back by 50 years. This will more or less tally with our date assigned to Varadarāja and eliminate the difficulties enumerated above.

(xxvi) *Devabhāṭṭa* (*Devapāṇi*?) 1025-1075 A.D.

Maheśvarānanda refers to himself as a devout adherent to the school of Devapāṇi and accordingly admits that the functional cycles are to be adored in the order that commences with *Sṛṣṭicakra* and closes with *Bhāsā cakra*.<sup>1</sup> He rejects any alternative arrangement. Beyond this one knows nothing of Devapāṇi.

1. तत्रोद्दिष्टभंग्या सृष्ट्यादिभासान्तं चक्रं श्रीदेवपाणिस्मप्रविष्टैरस्माभिरनुसन्धीयते, न पुनरेतद्विपर्ययेण ।



Of late certain material has come to notice that may help one hazard a guess in this regard. Dr. Raghavan has invited the attention of the scholars to a work, *Anuttara-śrīgurupaṅkti-parāmarśa*, by name.<sup>1</sup> The MS belongs to the Madras Govt. Oriental Library and bears No. MD 15330. The work deals with the linear chronology of the Pratyabhijñā authors in the following sequence—Somānanda, Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Śūra. Śūra is mentioned as a pupil of Kṣemarāja. The author of this *Gurupaṅkti* is one Deva Bhaṭṭa who describes himself as a pupil of Śūra.<sup>2</sup> We are not aware whether or not Devapāṇi can be equated with this Devabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa being an honorific title or surname. There is another name ending with the word Pāṇi e.g., Cakrapāṇi, among the Krama authors to be discussed subsequently. He has also been referred to as Cakranātha instead of Cakrapāṇi.<sup>3</sup> Hence, it does not seem utterly irrelevant to view Devapāṇi's whereabouts in this perspective.<sup>4</sup>

If, at all, such possibility is conceded, Devapāṇi's (?) date is fairly certain, since he comes next to Śūra, the pupil of Kṣemarāja (975-1025 A.D.) and may, therefore, be assigned to a period about 1025-1075 A.D. But, it may be repeated, it is a mere hypothesis.

(xxvii) *Hrasvanātha* (1025-1075 A.D.)

With Hrasvanātha one enters into one of the most complicated arenas of the Krama history. His advent is a landmark.

1. "The Works of Abhinavagupta", *JOR*, XIV-IV, p. 327.

2. तस्यापि शूरनामाभूत्.....।

.....॥

बहुधेत्यं शिवज्ञानमेतस्मादेव देशिकात् ।

अध्रीत्य देवभट्टेन प्रोक्ता संतानसंख्या ॥

Quoted, *ibid*.

3. इति चक्रनाथचक्रेशशब्दाभ्यामात्मनः चक्रपाणिनाम द्योतयति ।

*B.U.V.*, p. 44.

4. Dr. Raghavan also refers to a work named *Śivasūtra-parttika* in the MS No. 21 (other details missing) by one Bhiṣag Devarāja. *JORI*, XIV-IV, p. 323. His silence over other aspects of the author or text makes it meaningless to derive any implication whatsoever.

in the Krama annals, because he heads a tradition that has produced the texts of the eminence of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* and *Mahānayaprakāśa*(S) etc.

His time may be discussed first, since it is the main hurdle. The forthcoming paragraphs are addressed to examining the relevant data to the extent available and allowing each factor and evidence to suggest its own conclusion. It may, however, be pointed out that Cakrabhānu's date is a key-factor in deciding the date of Hrasvanātha. Let us take these data one by one.

(i) Jayaratha (1150-1200 A.D.) refers to Hrasvanātha, Bhojarāja and Somarāja in a succession.<sup>1</sup> Hrasvanātha, therefore, must precede Jayaratha and, in view of the intervening generations, be placed around 1075-1125 A.D. In other words he should not be later than this date.

(ii) According to a tradition current in Jayaratha's time,<sup>2</sup> the series of the Krama teachers from Keyūravatī (825-875 A.D.) to Bhūtīrāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, (both inclusive) account for sixteen generations of Krama. In other words, the distance between Keyūravatī and Cakrabhānu (both exclusive) spreads over thirteen generations. Allowing 25 years to each generation (i.e. about 325 years) he may be placed around 1150-1175 A.D. since Keyūravatī belongs to the second and third quarters of the ninth century. But at this point we encounter another tradition recorded by Jayaratha.<sup>3</sup> It does not take the first six

1. श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि इति न पंचैव शिष्याः श्रीभोजराजनाम्नः षष्ठस्यापि संभवात्, तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन ।

*T.A.V.*, III, p. 196.

2. श्रीकेयूरवतीतः प्रभृति श्रीचक्रभानुशिष्यान्तम् ।  
संततयोजितनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्यम् ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 195.

3. तथा हि अत्र श्रीकारदेव्यास्तस्याः

‘प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सर्वशास्तु ।’

इति त्रय एव शिष्याः इति न वाच्यं—श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकथोरपि एतच्छिष्यत्वात् नवेरकनाथश्चास्या शिष्यः ।

*Ibid.*, pp. 195-96.



pupils of Keyūravatī in vertical order but in horizontal one, that is, the first six pupils were mutually contemporary. Hence, Cakrabhānu's removal from Keyūravatī is cut short from 13 to 8 generations ( $13-6=7$ , +1 representing all the six disciples). The approximate date of Cakrabhānu may, therefore, be put in the vicinity of 1025-1075 A.D. This conclusion is further substantiated by Jayaratha's final premise<sup>1</sup> that twenty generations account for the entire preceptorial tradition from Śivānanda to Bhūtirāja, pupil of Cakrabhānu. Among these, first generation has three teachers (Keyūravatī etc.) and the second six (Govindarāja etc.). Thus Cakrabhānu (and not his pupil) is removed from Śivānanda not by twenty but by ten generations (both exclusive). Ten we say, because between Śivānanda and Cakrabhānu seventeen (excluding both as well as Cakrabhānu's pupil) generations have intervened. If we deduct seven generations (not nine because three pupils would account for one and the other six for the other generation) from seventeen the gap is reduced to ten. Computing it from Śivānanda (800-850 A.D.) upto Cakrabhānu, a period of 250 years seems to have elapsed. Cakrabhānu, therefore, comes close to the era (1050-1100 A.D.) as discussed above.

(iii) Jayaratha has drawn our attention to the fact that Hrasvanātha either possessed a commentary in manuscript form on the *Krama Stotra* (of Siddhanātha) or else wrote a commentary on it.<sup>2</sup> Whatever be the case, Hrasvanātha therefore cannot be placed earlier than 925-975 A.D., the date of the Stotrakāra. From Jayaratha's description it is obvious that people had started speculating about the number of the verses in and the central theme of the *Krama Stotra* and, consequently,

1. तदेव क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।

सप्तदशैव शिष्यान्तित्थं चक्रे सर्वशनिर्वशान् ॥

इति नियमो न न्याय्यः—शिष्यद्वयस्य अस्य अपरिगणनात् अन्यस्यापि कस्यचिच्छिष्यस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 195.

2. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणेऽस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

numerous commentaries had come into existence.<sup>1</sup> Therefore an allowance has to be made for the adequate lapse of time between the *Stotra* and Hrasvanātha so as to give rise to the controversies with regard to the *Stotra*. A hundred years' gap may be sufficient to account for the confusion. Consequently his date falls about 1025-1075 A.D. On this count, Bhojarāja and Somarāja being the consecutive successors would naturally be placed around 1050-1100 A.D. and 1075-1125 A.D. respectively.

(iv) Jayaratha quotes two verses from Somarāja describing his preceptorial ancestry.<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that Hrasvanātha was removed from Somarāja only by one generation e.g., Bhojarāja. It was natural for Soma to come at the end of the tradition since he himself is recording the tradition.<sup>3</sup>

(v) In this connection the *Cidgaganacandrikā* also traces the origin of the tradition to Śivānanda and places Soma at the end of the tradition.<sup>4</sup> The place of Cakrabhānu comes in between and he is referred to as the pilot (ānanāgra) among the pupils. It is therefore implicit in it that Soma came at the end of that tradition which was presided over by Cakrabhānu.

(vi) Cakrabhānu is described by Śitikanṭha as marking the end of human tradition (Mānavaugha) but constituting the beginning of the line of disciples (Śiṣyaugha). With Hrasvanātha the human tradition begins.<sup>5</sup> In other words Hrasvanātha

1. सर्वेषामेव च विवरणकृतामत्र प्रतिपदं पाठानां श्लोकानां व्यत्यासो दृश्यते, इत्यस्मद्दृष्ट एव पाठे क इवायं प्रद्वेषः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

3. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षारणेन श्रीसोमराजेन ।

*Ibid.*, p. 196.

4. यः शिवात् प्रभृति सोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।

आननाग्रमिह चक्रभानुतो यस्त्वमेतदुभयं त्वया मया ॥

C.G.C., 4.121.

5. मानवौघनेत्रराज्ञी ह्रस्वनाथेति त्रिरूपस्य कुलारणि...उत्पत्तिस्थानम्, ततश्च मानवौघ-स्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः...।

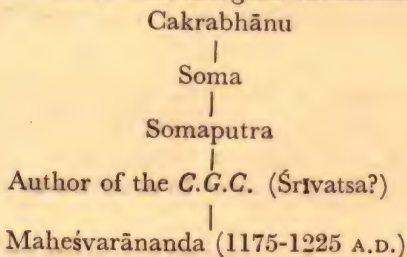
M.P.(S), p. 107.



precedes Cakrabhānu. This tradition was in course of time handed down to Śitikaṇṭha.

(vii) Since (a) Hrasvanātha precedes Cakrabhānu,<sup>1</sup> (b) Soma or Somarāja comes at the end of the tradition presided by Cakrabhānu,<sup>2</sup> and (c) only one generation intervenes between Hrasvanātha and Somarāja,<sup>3</sup> the gap between Hrasvanātha and Somarāja is necessarily filled in by Cakrabhānu on the one hand and Bhojarāja on the other.

(viii) To come back to dates again. It has been seen that the *Cidgaganacandrikā* takes note of a tradition headed by Śivānanda and concluded with Soma. The author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* claims to have learnt the secrets of the system from Somaputra i.e., Soma's son.<sup>4</sup> That is, the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* chronologically succeeds the son of Soma. This text has been frequently quoted by Maheśvarānanda in his *Parimala* on the *Mahārthamañjarī*.<sup>5</sup> Maheśvarānanda is assigned to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth (1175-1225 A.D.) century. In the circumstances, the following picture of the authors' chronological succession emerges :



Thus one arrives at Cakrabhānu's probable period which falls about 1075-1125 A.D. Hrasvanātha, owing to his historical priority, would naturally belong to 1050-1100 A.D.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *C.G.C.*, 4.121.

3. *T.A.V.*, III, p 196.

4. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्य मद्गतस्त्वत्कमोज्झ किमपि स्तुतो मया ।

*C.G.C.*, 4.125.

5. *M.M.P.*, pp. 28, 53, 71, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 102, 103-104, 110, 124, 131, 145, 154, 167.

(ix) In this connection a point must be considered. The last verse of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* mentions the name of its author as Śrīvatsa<sup>1</sup>. If this Śrīvatsa is taken to be identical with one who is Maṅkha's friend and contemporary,<sup>2</sup> Śrīvatsa would be placed round about 1125-1175 A.D.; because Maṅkha was a court-minister of King Jayasimha<sup>3</sup> (1127-1151 A.D.).

In that case the son of Soma, Soma and Cakrabhānu would naturally come around 1100-1150, 1075-1125 and 1075-1100 A.D. respectively. Contemporaneous with Cakrabhānu, Bhojarāja would also be placed during 1050-1100 A.D. Hrasvanātha being an immediate precursor of Cakrabhānu would automatically date back by a generation i.e., 1025-1075 A.D.

Thus from all these considerations Hrasvanātha may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. Similarly Bhūtirāja, the pupil of Cakrabhānu, may be bracketed with Soma (1075-1125 A.D.).

Coming to his creative side, one is not placed in a very happy position to say much about his scholarship and contribution. He was also known by another name i.e., Viranāthapāda.<sup>4</sup> If one abides by Dr. Pandey's suggested modification of 'Hrasvanāthenāpi' into 'Hrasvanāthasyāpi',<sup>5</sup> one may be able to say that Hrasvanātha wrote a commentary on the *Krama Stotra* in his own hand-writing and the same was accessible to Jayaratha. If, however, the original construction is retained, one would have an occasion to say that Hrasvanātha had his own manuscript copy of a commentary on the *Krama Stotra*. A verse from his manuscript of the *Krama Stotra* which contained

1. वा नरार्थं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे स तु ॥

C.G.C., 4. 134.

2. S.K.C., 25.82.

3. *Ibid.*, 25.61.

4. श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि

“श्रीवीरनाथपादैः पञ्च च देवीनये कृताः शिष्याः ।”

इति न पञ्चैव शिष्याः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 196.

5. *Abhi.*, p. 473.



an additional verse pertaining to *Rudra-kālī*, not traceable to other commentaries, has been cited by Jayaratha<sup>1</sup> Hrasvanātha had seen this verse in his script.

Hrasvanātha, too, was not free from the complications of a controversy. Jayaratha criticises a verse that gave the number of his pupils as five, whereas Jayaratha points out that he had six students, the sixth being Bhojarāja.<sup>2</sup> The controversy, however, clarifies the issue of the precise number of his students.

There is one more Hrasvanātha, who is said to have written a work entitled *Advayasāṃpatti*. His father's name was Harṣadatta.<sup>3</sup> The problem is whether the two could be

1. या सा जगद्भवंसयते समग्रं मृत्योर्वपुर्ग्रासयतीति विष्वक् ।  
धामाग्निरूपीयसहस्रदीप्तां तां नौमि कालानलरुद्रकालीम् ॥  
इति द्वितीयेन श्लोकेन स्तुतिः समस्ति...अथायमपि भवत्कल्पित एव श्लोकः, इति चेत्  
नैतत् श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणेऽस्य श्लोकस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

2. इति श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि...।  
इति न पंचैव शिष्याः—श्रीभोजराजनाम्नः षष्ठस्यापि संभवात् ।

Ibid., p. 196.

3. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेन हर्षदत्तसूनुनापि अहंकारमयीभूमिः...इत्यादिना अद्वयसंपत्तौ ।

V.Bh.V., p. 90.

In the Library of BORI, Poona, there is a manuscript of (no. 472 of 1875-76) a work called *Bodhaviḷāsa*. Its author is some Harṣadatta-sūnu (i.e., son of Harṣadatta). The colophon reads—

डा (टा) क (ह) देशसमुद्भूतो मीमांसावनकेसरी ।

हर्षदत्तेति नाम्ना तु तस्य सूनोरियं कृतः ॥

It is a small work in Śāradā characters. Its author is the son of some Harṣadatta very proficient in the Mīmāṃsā system. But the comparison of the text with that quoted by Śivopādhyāya from *Advayasāṃpatti* ascribed to Vāmananātha vide V.Bh.V., pp. 78-79 shows their verbatim affinity barring a few minor variations. The only difference between the two texts consists in the four additional verses contained in *Bodhaviḷāsa*, two in the beginning and two towards the close. Keeping in view the arguments advanced above it leads one to formulate the following views—(i) *Bodhaviḷāsa* was an additional title of the *Advayasāṃpatti*, (ii) the MS as it is, has been copied from the *Vivṛti* of Śivopādhyāya, appending four extra verses to it, (iii) whatever the name of the text it was written by the son of Harṣadatta, possibly also known as Vāmananātha, (v) the work was intended to be a commentary on

identified. Abhinava refers to one Vāmana, author of a commentary on the *Advayasāṃpatti*, called *Advayasāṃpatti-vārttika*.<sup>1</sup> If there is a *Vārttika* on the *Advaya-sāṃpatti* of Hrasvanātha, son of Harṣadatta, he gets even remoter and older than Abhinava. Naturally the two cannot be identified. There is an additional support for the above contention. The same quotation is attributed to Vāmananātha by Śivopādhyāya who attributes *Advaya-vārttika* to Hrasvanātha, the son of Harṣadatta, in a different context.<sup>2</sup> Here he is spoken of as the author of *Dvayasāṃpatti*. Actually initial 'A' is missing owing to the scribe's omission. Thus Hrasvanātha alias Vīranāthapāda is different from Hrasvanātha at issue who was considerably older than the former.

(xxviii) *Cakrabhānu* (1050-1100 A.D.)

A comparative estimate of the various opinions expressed about Cakrabhānu elevates his stature in the eyes of the reader as an eminent Krama author.

The problem of his date has already been settled by us in the foregoing pages. He seems to have flourished around the second half of the eleventh century.

It is to be regretted that no work of his either in reference, manuscript or print has come down today. Hence it is extremely difficult to ascertain the magnitude and nature of his contribution. A few scattered allusions to him are one's only guide.

With him the main human pedigree (Mānavauḡha) of teachers comes to an end and an intra-human series of disciples (Śiṣyauḡha) begins. He enjoys an position of unchallenged superiority among all the persons that constitute the chain of

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the *Advayasāṃpatti*, since Vāmananātha wrote another commentary in addition to the existing one by somebody else, and (vi) the commentary also went by the name of the original text as the two extracts cited by Śivopādhyāya prove. This is all that may be said at present.

1. एष एव श्रीवामनविरचिते अद्वयसंपत्तिवार्तिके उपदेशनयो बोद्धव्यः ।

P.T.V., p. 198.

2. द्वयसंपत्तिकारस्तु वामननाथो विवृत्यन्तरम् आह,

यथा—अहंकारमयी भूमिः.....।

V. Bh.V., p. 78.



disciples (Śiṣyaugha).<sup>1</sup> He was possibly a student of Hrasvanātha, because he belongs to the tradition of Soma,<sup>2</sup> the grand pupil of the former, and because the former had six pupils one of them being Bhojarāja, the teacher of Somarāja.<sup>3</sup> The enviable status enjoyed by Cakrabhānu among the tradition of the disciples is possible only when he is at the helm of the tradition. That this is so has been confirmed by Śitikaṇṭha<sup>4</sup> and the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.<sup>5</sup> Since Somarāja is separated from Hrasvanātha by one generation, Cakrabhānu together with Bhojarāja in all probability be a pupil of Hrasvanātha.

Although he belonged to a different tradition from one subscribed to by Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda etc., he came direct in the original tradition of Keyūravatī.<sup>6</sup> As after Keyūravatī etc., many a tradition became afloat within the precincts of the Krama system, Cakrabhānu might be associated with one of those traditions. He, through tradition, might be linked with any of the three unnamed disciples of Keyūravatī,<sup>7</sup> since the whereabouts of other remaining three are well known.

Cakrabhānu had eight pupils, himself being the master of them. Amongst these a lady ascetic called Īśānā was responsible for a fresh tradition which continued uninterrupted till the time of Śitikaṇṭha.<sup>8</sup> His (Cakrabhānu's) role as a Krama teacher has elicited extreme admiration from Śitikaṇṭha.<sup>9</sup>

Till the time of Jayaratha his importance had blurred the precise view of his actual contribution, so much so that his pupil Bhūtirāja was confused with one of the same name who

1. ततश्च मानवीयस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भनुपादः ।

M.P.(S), p. 107.

2. C.G.C., 4.121.

3. T.A.V., III, p. 196.

4. Ibid.

5. C.G.C. 4.121.

6. T.A.V., III, p. 193.

7. Ibid., pp. 195-96.

8. शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भनुपादः अष्टाणां शिष्याणां प्रभुः यन्मध्याद् राज्ञी ईशानाख्या स(म)दन्तं पारम्पर्यनिदानम् ।

M.P.(S), p. 107.

9. तथैव भानुः श्रीचक्रभानुः शिष्यकमलानां विकासकः, इति

was Abhinava's teacher in Brahma-vidyā.<sup>1</sup> Jayaratha completely rejects the theory as without foundation that Cakrabhānu's pupil was Abhinava's teacher. Jayaratha even goes to the extent of decrying the claim of Bhūtīrāja as a pupil of Cakrabhānu. Cakrabhānu's abstinence from such type of teaching has been the main source of confusion and consequently numerous interpretations of his views.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the respective stands taken by Jayaratha and Śitikanṭha tend to appear paradoxical. In view of the weighty collateral evidence frequently referred to, it is difficult to agree with Jayaratha that he never taught anybody. He, therefore, might be construed to mean that Cakrabhānu never taught any Bhūtīrāja and thus the paradox be tentatively reconciled. Possibly this will be a more reasonable attitude towards Jayaratha too.

(xxix) *Cakrapāṇi* (1050-1100/1075-1125 A.D.)

According to the original plan *Cakrapāṇi* was to be discussed among the authors of the next generation, but this deviation appears necessary in view of the foregoing discussion impelling us to hazard certain suggestions in the context.

The Research Department of Kashmir Government has brought out as the 14th volume of Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies a work called *Bhāvopahāra* ascribed to one *Cakrapāṇi* with a commentary by Ramyadeva. The *Bhāvopahāra*, on going through its contents, transpires to be a Krama stotra. Ramyadeva's commentary totally actuated by the Krama ideology leaves no doubt about it. Its precise philosophical views have been fully taken into account at appropriate occasions during the course of philosophical treatment. Ramyadeva, in the opening verses of his commentary<sup>3</sup> and in his commentary<sup>4</sup> on the

1. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 193-94.

2. इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत्स्वोत्प्रेक्षितमेव—इत्युपेक्ष्यम् । नहि श्रीचक्रभानुना प्रायः कस्यचिदपि एवमुपदिष्टम्—तन्मूलतयैव इदानीमस्योपदेशस्य शतशो दर्शनात् ।

*T.A.V.*, III, pp. 193-94.

3. जयत्यकामोदितरभिर्मरूपस्वशक्तिर्पुंजात्मकचक्रनाथः ॥

*B.U.V.*, p. 1, v. 2.

देवं चक्रं श्रये क्रीडात्रोडीकृतकृतान्तकम् ।

*Ibid*, verse 3.

4. इति चक्रनाथचक्रेशशब्दाभ्याम् आत्मनः चक्रमाणिनाम् द्योतयति ।

*Ibid.*, p. 44.



last verse<sup>1</sup> of the *Stotra*, gives out the name of the author of the *Stotra* as Cakrapāṇi who has been variously called Cakranātha and Cakreśa etc.

Coming to the personal details and time of Cakrapāṇi one finds a veil of mystery surrounding it. Let us try to pierce through it.

The commentator of the work is Ramyadeva who refers to a work of his son also.<sup>2</sup> Now both of these, father and son, are described by Maṅkha as members of his brother's (Laṅkaka's) intellectual club.<sup>3</sup> Ramyadeva, therefore, appears to be a senior contemporary of Maṅkha (1125-1175 A.D.) and may be assigned to the twelfth century (1100-1150 A.D.). The *Bhāvopahāra*, in the fitness of things, would precede this period, that is, the lower limit of the *Bhāvopahāra*'s period would not go below 1075-1125 A.D. The work cannot be much older, because no Krama author beyond Devabhāṭṭa (1025-1075 A.D.) takes note of it. Moreover the language of the *Stotra* and the contents both have a greater imprint of mysticism and esoteric symbolism which are definitely signs of the later phase of the Krama system.

During this period there is only one person, except Cakrapāṇi, who has the word Cakra forming part of his name. He is Cakrabhānu. He is a known Krama author. Will it, therefore, be incongruous and without basis to identify Cakrapāṇi with Cakrabhānu? Cakrabhānu's time is about 1050-1100 A.D. Cakrapāṇi's probable time is not later than 1075-1125 A.D. Thus a gap of twentyfive years is not an unbridgeable gap and since there is rather greater certainty about Cakrabhānu's date, it will be better to push the date of Cakrapāṇi slightly back. If this equation be conceded, one would be in a better position to appreciate the creative aspect of Cakrabhānu's genius.

1. महापाशुपतोद्याने कश्चिद्विश्रम्य तापसः ।

चक्रे चिच्चक्रनाथस्य शम्भोर्भाविर्नुति पराम् ॥

B.U., verse 47.

2. B.U.V., p. 6.

3. S.K.C., 25. 33, 36.

(xxx) *Bhojarāja* (1050-1100 A.D.)

Whatever little is known about him, has already been brought to notice. A few points of information alone remain to be given here. As seen already, Bhojarāja as the sixth student of Hrasvanātha and a contemporary of Cakrabhānu belongs to the latter half of the eleventh century. He was also known by his other name i.e., Vāmanabhānu. Somarāja, from whom Jayaratha quotes, while giving out his preceptorial pedigree in two verses figuratively suggests that Bhojarāja perhaps wrote a work, the *Kramakamala* by name, on the system. Because in both the passages he is portrayed as an adept in letting the *Kramakamala*, bloom. One knows of a similar title e.g., *Kulakamala*, belonging to the Kula system. Hence it is not at all improbable that he might have written some such work. He was a man of high spiritual attainments.<sup>1</sup>

Sri Braj Vallabha Dwivedi in his essay on the Tripurā Darśana<sup>2</sup> raises an important question in this regard.

According to him, the *Rjuvimarśinī* by Śivānanda refers to one Dipakanātha who was ostensibly influenced by Bhojarāja. This Dipakanāthā is one among the Tripurā teachers preceding Jayaratha. According to the Tripurā tradition, Dipakanātha is posterior to Dharmācārya who is the author of the *Laghustava*, and for that matter, the *Pañcastavī*, on the authority of Amṛtānanda, the author of the *Saubhāgyasudhodaya*. The 18th verse of the third *Stava* has been quoted by Bhojarāja in the fifth chapter of *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* and a verse from the same *Stava* has also been cited by Mammaṭa in the 10th chapter of

1. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन—

श्रीमद्दामनभानुः क्रमकमलविकासने चतुरः ।

जयति षडध्वप्रोज्झितपरनभसि निबद्धसंतानः ॥

येन ध्वस्तः समस्तो गहनतरमहामोहान्धकारो

दत्तः सम्यक्प्रकाशः क्रमकमलवनोत्लासविश्रान्तिरूपः ।

प्राप्ता येनैव संविन्निरुपमसरसास्वादसंयोगभोगा

बन्धे श्रीभोजराजं गुरुवरमहितं पूज्यमर्हद्भिन्नरत्नः ॥ इति ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 196-97

2. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिताचार्याः तत्कृतयश्च,

S.Su., XX-2, pp. 23-24.



his *Kāvya Prakāśa*. Thus Dharmācārya is definitely anterior to Bhojarāja and Mammaṭa. His successor (not necessarily immediate) Dīpakanātha is said to have been demonstrably influenced by Bhojarāja. Now the question is who is this Bhojarāja—the author of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa* or a different one.

Mr. Dwivedi has raised an important problem. It is difficult to say that the problem can be answered easily. Yet, an annexure may be added to the question itself.

From the above presentation it is definite that whosoever this Bhojarāja might be, he does belong to the same period as do Dīpakanātha etc. The author of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa* and the *Tattva-prakāśikā* (a Śaiva Siddhānta text) is identified with the king Bhoja of Dhārā whose period is taken to be 1010-1060 A.D. by Smith.<sup>1</sup> Now this Bhojarāja, the Krama author, has been assigned above to the period 1050-1100 A.D. It is, however, not definitely known whether all these Bhojas are one or different. But as a hypothesis one must consider the issue if Bhojarāja, the Krama author, can lay any claim to influencing Dīpakanātha. In the history of the tantric system, however, such cross-influences or synthetic personalities do not present an unusual spectacle.

(xxxi) *Somarāja* (1075-1125 A.D.)

Somarāja came next to Hrasvanātha, his teacher, in order of succession. He probably wrote a work which included the details of his preceptorial ancestry. The two verses cited and ascribed by Jayaratha<sup>2</sup> to him are probably from this work. He was the last teacher in the tradition that came direct from Śivānanda<sup>3</sup> and was punctuated with the teachers of the eminence of Cakrabhānu. He had a son who later transmitted the mysteries of the system to the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*<sup>4</sup>. He, as discussed earlier, may be assigned to the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century.

1. *Abhinava*, p. 172.

2. *T.A.V.* III pp. 196-97.

3. *C.G.C.*, 4.121.

4. *Ibid.*, 4.125.

(xxxii) *The great-grand (Parameṣṭhi) teacher of Jayaratha*  
(Viśvadatta ?) (1075-1125 A.D.)

The Parameṣṭhi guru of Jayaratha is mentioned only once and a verse is also attributed to him by Jayaratha.<sup>1</sup> In fact the verse is very popular among the authors of Kashmir Śaivism and appears in many a text as a benedictory verse. Jayaratha gives the three interpretations of the first verse of the *Tantrāloka* in accordance with its bearings upon the Kula and Krama systems and Abhinava's parentage respectively. It is in the context of the second i.e., Krama interpretation, that the verse is cited in support of his presentation of the Ultimate Awareness technically called Anākhyā.

Fortunately Jayaratha gives in full both of his genealogies<sup>2</sup>—parental as well as preceptorial. In the line of his teachers one finds only one person, Viśvadatta, who could perhaps be equated with Jayaratha's Parameṣṭhi guru in question.<sup>3</sup> Viśvadatta is the father of Tribhuvanadatta and the grandfather of Subhaṭadatta who is credited with having performed Jayaratha's initiation.

If one puts the two genealogies side by side, it will be apparent that Viśvadatta was a contemporary of the two great grandfathers of Jayaratha, namely, Guṇaratha and Devaratha. They themselves were grandsons of Utpalaratha who was a minister of the king Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) and their eldest uncle Śivaratha was a minister of king Ucchala (1101-1111 A.D.). Therefore, Guṇaratha and Devaratha may be placed somewhere during 1075-1125 A.D. Viśvadatta being their con-

1. यदुक्तमस्मत्परमेष्ठिगुरुभिः—

क्रमत्रयसमाश्रयव्यतिकरेण या संततं

क्रमत्रितयलंघनं विदधती विभ्रात्युच्चकैः ।

क्रमैकवपुरक्रमप्रकृतिरेव या द्योतते

करोमि हृदि तामहं भगवतीं परां संविदम् ॥

*T.A.V.*, I, p. 11.

2. *T.A.V.*, XII, pp. 430-434.

3. श्रीविश्वदत्तपौत्रत्रिभुवनदत्तात्मजः कुलक्रमतः ।

श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुयो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 4.33.



temporary would also belong to near about the same period. It may also be noted that Utpalaratha II was the maternal nephew as well as a pupil of Vibhūtidatta, the father of Viśvadatta.<sup>1</sup> Vibhūtidatta could not bear the loss of his elder son and consequently being completely disillusioned and detached he could not educate his another son, Viśvadatta, who was quite young.<sup>2</sup> Viśvadatta was therefore left to the care of Śricakra, a student of Vibhūtidatta, and who handed over all the ancestral learning to Viśvadatta.<sup>3</sup> Utpalaratha II, the maternal cousin of Viśvadatta brought the latter to his home and brought him up. When he attained the age, Utpalaratha got a residence erected for him opposite the temple constructed by some Kanakadatta and gave him sufficient resources—movable and immovable both—in order to relieve him from worldly worries.<sup>4</sup>

It was this Viśvadatta who is possibly referred to as Jayaratha's greatgrand teacher. It is really striking to observe that from the very beginning the teacher and the taught relationship had been obtaining between the two ancestral lines—one preceptorial and the other parental—of Jayaratha.

(xxxiii) *Soma-putra* (1100-1150 A.D.)

The author of the *Cidgaganacandrika* expresses his indebtedness to the son of Soma for divulging to him the Krama

1. श्रीमान् विभूतिदत्तो व्यधादमुं मातुलः शिष्यम् ।

2. अध्याप्याखिलसंहिता अपि सुतस्नेहान्निषिक्ते मृते

पुत्रे ज्यायसि देवतापरिहृतासेके दिनैः सप्तभिः ।

वैरस्यान् कनीयसे स यददादबालाय सेकं ततो

देव्या स्वप्नविबोधितोऽस्य तनयस्यैतन्मुखेनास्त्विति ॥

*T.A.V.*, XII, p. 430.

3. श्रीचक्राय ददौ द्विजः स भगवान्नुर्वीधरोऽस्मिन्नसी ।

श्रीचक्रात् स्वपितृक्रमाप्तमखिलं तत्साधिकारं व्यधात् ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 431.

4. अथ स परमधामैकात्म्यमाप्ते गुरौ स्वं

निजगृहमुपनिन्ये तत्समुतं विश्वदत्तम् ।...

श्रीकनकदत्तविरचितदेवगृहाग्रे मठं निवासाय ।

कृत्वा ददौ स तस्मै स्थावरघनकनकसंपूर्णम् ॥

*T.A.V.*, XII, p. 430,

secrets<sup>1</sup> or the text on which the former commented. The part of the text that contains this information is very defective, yet its sense may easily be derived. Soma, his father, is the terminal point of the tradition originating from Śivānanda.<sup>2</sup> Being the son of Soma or Somarāja, his time may be determined about 1100-1150 A.D.

(xxxiv) *Ramyadeva* (1100-1150 A.D.)

Ramyadeva is the most important author of his era. His *Vivarāṇa* on the *Bhāvopahāra* is undoubtedly a Krama work. Despite the fact that he is more inclined towards esotericism, his commentary does not lack in original flashes.<sup>3</sup> He has tried to point out the specific character of the Krama system.<sup>4</sup> An attempt has been made to take note of each contribution of his in its proper place.

In addition to his *Vivarāṇa* on the *Bhāvopahāra* he has written six other works as stated by him. The works are given below :

- (i) *Akrāma-kallola-kārikā*<sup>5</sup>
- (ii) *Akulakālīkā-triṃśikā*<sup>6</sup>
- (iii) *Śiva-rava-stotra*<sup>7</sup>

1. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्य मद्गतस्त्वत्क्रमोज्ज्व किमपि स्तुतो मया ।

C.G.C. 4.125.

2. यः शिवात्प्रभृति सोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।

C.G.C. 4.121.

3. *B.U.V.*, pp. 26, 31-32 etc.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 22, 23, 29, 38, 40, etc.

5. न ह्यक्रमानाख्यपरचिच्चक्रेष्वरीसमुदये कालो नाम कश्चित् उपपद्यते ।

तदुक्तं मयैवाक्रमकल्लोलकारिकायु —

*Ibid.*, p. 4.

6. योज्यम् अनारावरावो रावसंघट्टकतया

त्वामजामकृतपंचकारणद्वावणोड्डमरधामभैरवीम् ।

स्तौम्यनाहतहतव्यतिक्रमस्फाररावकृतवीरघट्टनाम् ॥

इत्याद्यस्मद्विरचिताकुलकालिकात्रिशिकोक्तस्वरूपः ।

*Ibid.*, p. 8; also

उक्तं च मयैवाकुलकालिकात्रिशिकायाम् —

*Ibid.*, p. 38.

7. यदुक्तं मयैव शिवरवस्तोत्रे —

*B.U.V.*, p. 10.



(iv) *Cakreśvara-bhairavāṣṭaka*<sup>1</sup>

(v) *Śiva-rātri-vicāra-vārttika*<sup>2</sup>

(vi) *Kṛtānta-lānti-śānti-stava*<sup>3</sup>

The third and sixth works are admittedly classed as stotras. The second and fourth are also possibly stotras as a close look into the extracts ascribed to them would reveal. The fifth seems, on the usual pattern, to be a commentary on the text entitled *Śivarātrivicāra*, which might be from his own pen or from somebody else's. We do not know. The first appears to be an independent work dealing with the Krama system.

According to the colophon<sup>4</sup> he was the son of Bhaṭṭa Jyogdeva and according to the closing verse of his commentary his teacher's name was Yogānanda.<sup>5</sup> He also cites a verse from his son<sup>6</sup> but does not give his name. From Maṅkha we know that his name was Loṣṭhadeva.<sup>7</sup> The fact that his son was mature enough so that his father might quote him leads one to think that Ramyadeva wrote this *Vivaraṇa* at quite an advanced age.

As has been hinted earlier, Ramyadeva was an older contemporary of Maṅkha. According to Maṅkha, Ramyadeva was a man of ascetic temperament. He had thorough command over Vedānta and his action bore the imprints of his thought. He was an extremely proficient and generous teacher. He was

1. तदुक्तं मया चक्रेश्वरभैरवाष्टके—

*Ibid.*, p. 29.

2. तदुक्तं मया शिवरात्रिविचारवार्तिके—

*Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

3. तदुक्तं मया कृतान्ततान्तिशान्तिस्तवे—

*Ibid.*, p. 41.

4. इति श्रीचक्रपाणिनाथविरचिते भावोपहारस्तोत्रे विवरणं समाप्तम्, कृतिस्तत्रभवद्भट्ट-  
ज्योदेवात्मजसदृश्रीरम्यदेवस्य ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 44.

5. योगानन्दाभिधानद्विजवरवदनायातपीठेशिदेवी-

मादावद्योतितान्नप्रणयनजनितान्तसोत्साहहर्षः ।

*B.U.V.*, p. 44.

6. तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः ।

*Ibid.*, p. 6.

7. *S.K.C.* 25.36.

specially at home in the *Kāṭhāvallī* and was a successful exponent of the Vedānta text called *Iṣṭasiddhi*. These autobiographical touches no doubt lend special richness to Ramyadeva's manifold personality. It is strange that Maṅkha does not refer to Ramyadeva's attainments in Krama though he was fully conversant with the system.<sup>1</sup> Maybe Maṅkha is referring to that aspect only with which people were not so conversant, or else Maṅkha is taking note of only those aspects of the author's personality that won recognition in the intellectual circle. Both, Ramyadeva and his son Loṣṭhadeva, are mentioned in the company of Laṅkaka, Laṅkaṭa or Alamkāra, Maṅkha's elder brother.<sup>2</sup> Laṅkaka was a minister statesman under the king Sussala of Kashmir (1112-1127 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* refers to him as a man of martial achievements.<sup>4</sup> Maṅkha was an officer-in-charge of state administration under king Jayasimha, the son and successor of Sussala.<sup>5</sup> The reign of Jayasimha falls between 1126-1159 A.D. Thus the literary circle of his elder brother must have been a long affair spread over 1112-1159 A.D. Since Ramyadeva is mentioned along with his son, he must be of ripe age when an audience took place between him and Alamkāra. It would, therefore, be reasonable if he is assigned to the first half of the twelfth century.

(xxxv) *Loṣṭhadeva* (1125-1175 A.D.)

As alluded to above, Ramyadeva quotes a passage from his son with marked overtones of the Krama system.<sup>6</sup> It is

1. *S.K.C.* 5.40

2. *Ibid.*, 25.26

3. निवेशिते सुस्सलभूविडौजसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि संधिवग्रहे ।

विधाय चक्रे स्वयशोमयीं लिपिं स लेखवर्गस्य विमुद्रमाननम् ॥

*Ibid.*, 3.62.

4-5. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छ्रीजयसिंहभूपतिः ।

व्यधात्प्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्विनीतजन्तुषु ॥

*Ibid.*, 3.63.

6. निशाकान्तकला संहारदेवी तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः

शिव शिवासनमूर्ध्नि सदा स्थिता विगतकालकलाकलनाक्रमा ।

कुशतया कश्चिमव्यपलापिनी जयति कापि कला विगतक्रमा ॥ इति ।

*B U.V.*, p. 6.



possible that his son might have written a treatise on Krama from which a passage has been cited by his father.

Although Ramyadeva does not disclose the name of his son, he is none other than Loṣṭhadeva. This information is furnished by Loṣṭadeva himself.<sup>1</sup> He was also known as Loṣṭaka. Being tortured by worldly trammels he diverted his attention from poetry to spiritualism. His work pertaining to Krama might be a product of this period.

Mañkha has spoken highly of his linguistic accomplishment. He had a linguist's command over six languages and his speech and poetry were characterised by their flawless felicity and lucidity.<sup>2</sup> Several verses read in praise of Laṅkaka find place in the *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* and they betray a real poetic flavour in his utterances.<sup>3</sup> He is credited with writing a stotra entitled *Dinākrandanastotra* which has been brought out by Nirnayasagar Press in the Part VI of the *Kāvyamālā* series. Towards the close of his life he went to Vārāṇasī, turned ascetic and renounced the world. The stotra gives powerful expression to the pangs of his disillusioned heart pining for the spiritual ultimate. He ultimately gets peace and in a tranquil mood refers to his achievement.<sup>4</sup> Jalhaṇa, in his

1. इतिपरिहृतवान्स्वकाव्यशिल्पप्रकटनमाकुलितो भवव्यथाभिः ।

व्यधित गिरिश रम्यदेवजन्मा तव पुरतो हठदैन्यतः प्रलापान् ॥

*Dinākrandana Stotra*, verse 50.

2. वाम्देवतालिनीलीलाघुतपक्षतिचातुरीम् ।

वदनाम्बुरुहे यस्य भाषाः षडधिशेरते ॥

खलानां यत्प्रबन्धेषु दृढव्युत्पत्तिवर्मसु ।

प्रोद्यच्चोद्यमया दूरे कुण्ठिता इव पत्निः ॥

कतिचिल्लोष्टदेवस्य तस्यापि मुखतोऽभृणोत् ।

श्रीलंककं प्रति प्रीतचारुचादुरसा गिरः ॥

*S.K.C.* 25,34-36.

3. *Ibid.*, 25.37-47.

4. अग्रंशे जन्म वंशे सुमहति विहितो वाङ्मयाब्धौ हनूम-  
त्संरम्भो दानभोगौ तदनु च रचितौ किञ्चिदौचित्यरीत्या ।

ज्ञात्वा तत्त्वं यत्तत्त्वं श्रितमथ मयिता संसृतिर्दुनिवारा

वाराणस्यां प्रसन्ना स्थितिरिति कृतिनः किं न मे नाम सिद्धम् ॥

*Dinākrandana Stotra*, verse 52.

*Sūktimuktāvalī*, attributes a verse to Loṣṭadeva.<sup>1</sup> It, therefore, goes without saying that he was equally gifted in language, literature and philosophy and it is a misfortune that his works, either on Krama or other systems, have not survived the atrocities of time

(xxxvi) *Śrīvatsa : Author of the Cidgaganacandrikā* (1125-75 A.D.)

The time of the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* is not so puzzling as his identity. The *Candrikā* is a commentary described as *Pañcikā* by him, on the *Krama Stotra* of Siddhanātha. And in autobiographical references he too introduces himself as Kālidāsa.<sup>2</sup> The proposition ascribing the *Candrikā's* authorship to Kālidāsa has been reiterated and echoed several times.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the last line of the second opening verse is practically the same as the last line of the opening verse of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa.<sup>4</sup> These factors have led the editor of the Calcutta edition of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* to concede its authorship to Kālidāsa.<sup>5</sup> Karra Agnihotra Sastri, the erudite modern commentator on the text, fully endorses the

1. प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितन्वता।

मया शरासनेनेव वाणो दूरं निरस्यते ॥

Quoted, *Kāvya-mālā*, Part VI, p. 21, fn. 1.

2. मुक्तमेव न मया मयोचितः प्रेरितोऽस्मि तव तत्तिनी त्वया (?) ।

सिद्धनाथकृततत्क्रमस्तुतेः कालिदासरचितां च पञ्चिकाम् ॥

C.G.C. 4. 4.126.

3. इह कालिदासचन्द्रप्रसूतिरानन्दिनी स्तुतिर्व्याजात् ।

चिद्गगनचन्द्रिकाब्धेः शमयतु संसारदावदवधुं वः ॥

*Ibid.*, 4.137.

कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितस्तत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भणः ।

*Ibid.*, 4.127.

केवलं तदनुवर्णनेऽप्युमे त्वन्मुदे तदपि दासजल्पितम् ।

*Ibid.*, 4.93.

4. सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ।

C.G.C. 1.2.

5. ...सुस्पष्टं स्वीयमभिधानं प्रकटीकृतं कालिदास इति । अत एवास्य कर्ता कालिदास इत्यसंशयं वक्तुं शक्यम् ।

C.G.C., Sanskrit Introduction, p. 2.



views of Svami Trivikrama Tirtha, the editor of the Calcutta edition. Besides, Sastri advances a few more arguments in favour of his contention.<sup>1</sup> As his entire methodology consists in finding analogues between the present and the original Kālidāsa and interpreting them to suit his convictions, it is not very relevant for us to go into whole of it here. However, to cite an instance, he finds an implicit reaffirmation of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*'s eightfold Puris in the eightfold structure of the Vṛnda-cakra. Even to the last verse, where the name of some Śrīvatsa occurs, he accords an entirely mystic interpretation taking him as a crest of meaning called Śrīvatsa. This is the verse which is of key importance in connection with the authorship-issue. The only difference between Sastri and Trivikrama Tirtha revolves round the identity of this Kālidāsa. The former insists that the present Kālidāsa is identical with the original one,<sup>2</sup> while the latter is prepared to concede to the existence of some later Kālidāsa who seems to have flourished before Abhinavagupta.<sup>3</sup>

The testimony of the tradition also lends weighty support to the present thesis. The passages from the *Cidgaganacandrikā* quoted by Bhāskara-rāya in his commentary famed as *Saubhāgya-bhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāma* have been acknowledged by him to be the assertions of Kālidāsa occasionally with reference to the name of this text.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Sastri has invoked the support of a Tantric text called *Hṛdayacandrikā* by Kavi Cakravartin which explicitly identifies the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* with Kālidāsa.<sup>5</sup> But it must be frankly stated that a host of scholars, who have profusely quoted from the text in

1. C.G.C. with the *Dīnyacakorikā*, (first part of the Introduction), I, pp. 2-4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3. C.G.C., Calcutta, p. 3. (Skt. Int.).

4. *Saubhāgyabhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, pp. 26, 52, 82, 153, 157, 161.

5. वाङ्मयामृतनिधिः प्रकाशते कालिदास इति कोऽपि चन्द्रमाः ।

येन चिद्गगनचन्द्रिका कृता हृद्गुहासु सुधियां हृतं तमः ।

Quoted, C.G.C. with D.C., I, p. 3. (introd.).

question, have maintained complete silence over its authorship. Among these are Maheśvarānanda,<sup>1</sup> Amṛtānandanātha<sup>2</sup> and Kaivalyāśrama.<sup>3</sup>

A modern student, however, finds it difficult to swallow the claim for the original Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*. To begin with, the author mentions some Śiva as a pioneer of the preceptorial line, Cakrabhānu as an eminent teacher and Soma as the concluding figure of the lineage to which the author pledges his allegiance. The author received his tuitions in Krama from the son of Soma. It simply means that he is not the legendary Kālidāsa, but a different person. Cakrabhānu and Somarāja, and for that matter his son, more or less have a definite chronological status that puts them within a century's bracket running from 1050 to 1150 A.D. as they come in preceptorial hierarchy. Even the earliest limit cannot go beyond the tenth century, because the author of the *Krama Stotra* i.e., Siddhanātha, belongs to the first half of the tenth century. But since the author maintains direct doctrinal and scholastic affiliation to Cakrabhānu etc., his date need not be pushed back from the point of actual occurrence which falls in the vicinity of the temporal bracket mentioned above. Besides, the earliest references made to this work are by Maheśvarānanda who belongs to the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Therefore his date cannot be advanced either, barring the modifications by a margin of 25 to 50 years on each side. Had he flourished much earlier, the early texts could not afford to ignore him altogether. Therefore, on every count, the present author is different from the great poet.

Coming to the other aspect of the question, let us try to find out who this Kālidāsa was.

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1. *M.M.P.*, pp. 27, 53, 71, 73, 93, 94, 96, 99, 102, 103, 104, 110, 124, 130, 154, 167.
  2. *T.H.D.*, pp. 11, 18, 94, 132, 144, 179.
  3. *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 4.



The author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* in the last verse gives out his name as Śrīvatsa in unmistakable<sup>1</sup> tone. Kālidāsa seems to be his honorific title and not his actual name, according to his own statement.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the grace of Mother Divine his unique literary and spiritual accomplishment fetched him this valued title. However, from the historical perspective, many authors have quite frequently allowed to envelop their true personalities due to this practice in India. In order to cater to his vanity it has been natural for an author to emphasise his title as compared with his name.

The present thesis with regard to the *Candrikā's* authorship becomes more convincing, if something with regard to the historicity of the author named Śrīvatsa be available. Fortunately, exactly during this period, one Śrīvatsa arrests one's attention. Mañkha refers to a pair of the two celibates namely Bhudda and Śrīvatsa<sup>3</sup> in course of his description of the literary circle of his brother and heaps an exceedingly high praise on both of them for unparalleled poetic richness and beauty of their verses—as if the Goddess Muse herself put a stamp on the wealth of their poetic art. Mañkha, being a contemporary of king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.) is ascribed to the second and third quarters of the twelfth century. Śrīvatsa, too, therefore, would belong to the same period. Since (i) this Śrīvatsa and the author of the *Candrikā* flourished on an almost synchronous point of time, and (ii) Śrīvatsa, the author of the *Candrikā*, has the title of Kālidāsa<sup>4</sup> for his poetic brilliance

1. पूर्णपीठकृतं सिद्धेस्तद्भावस्तवमादरात् ।

वा नरार्थं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे स तु ।

C.G.C. 4.134.

2. कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितः त्वत्प्रसादकृतवाग्बिजुम्भणः ।

Ibid., 4.127.

3. यावाविष्कुरुतो वक्त्रमुरुचन्दनपुण्ड्रकम् ।

मुद्रितं सुक्तिदेव्येव कोषं काव्यकलाश्रियः ॥

भृङ्गश्रीवत्सनामानो सूरौ सन्नद्धाचारिणौ ।

वाक्यैजितामृतस्वादैः सादरं तावभाषताम् ॥

S.K.C., 25.81-82.

4. Cf. fn. 2 above.

and ingenuity like his illustrious counterpart hailed for his poetic achievements, it will not be entirely unfounded to treat the two as identical.

The necessary corollaries that follow in the wake of such proposition are that the author of the *Candrikā* was Śrīvatsa, identical with his namesake referred to by Mañkha, who made this attempt for the welfare of mankind. He was known as Kālidāsa for his literary genius. The verse containing the line from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is spurious and a later interpolation. He was a pupil of Soma's son who perhaps was also known as Gupta.<sup>1</sup> He belonged to Pūrṇapīṭha, the centre of his spiritual activity, where he wrote this *Pañcikā* on the *Krama Stotra*.<sup>2</sup> The whole work, according to the author, comprises three hundred and nine verses in *traiṣṭubha* metre.<sup>3</sup> However, there are in all three hundred and twelve verses in the printed edition and the first two verses are not in the above metre. Thus the total number of verses in the above metre amounts to three hundred and ten and if the last verse pertaining to the author himself is excluded, the total corresponds to the figure mentioned by the author.

But it is doubtful that the original text has come down to us in full, because a few verses quoted by Kaivalyāśrama,<sup>4</sup> Amṛtānandanātha<sup>5</sup> are not traceable to the printed text.

1. गुप्तभाषितजगद्विजृम्भणा मन्त्रतां भजसि तत्त्वमम्ब या ।

C.G.C. 4.36.

व्यक्तिमत्तदितरक्रमप्रथा गुप्तकृतस्तवहिर्जंगत्क्रमः ।

निर्गतोऽथ सुमहार्थजृम्भितः संभृतौ जननि तेऽन्वयः क्रमः ॥

Ibid., 3.92.

2. पूर्णपीठमवगम्य मंगले त्वत्प्रसादमकृते मया कृतः ।

C.G.C., 4.128.

3. कालवर्षिणि शतैस्त्रिभिः स्तुतिं तावकीमिह नवोत्तरैः कृताम् ।

तैष्टुभैरहरहः परामृशन् कालचक्रमतियन् प्रसीदति ॥

Ibid., 4.130-131.

4. अम्ब तावकपदद्वयार्चकस्त्वमन्यो(?) भवति नात्र विस्मयः ।

यस्त्वयैव विवशो वशीकृतः शक्तिरेव समभूच्छिवः स्वयम् ॥

Quoted, S.V. on A.L., p. 4.

5. भावनागममतीन्द्रियं च यल्लक्ष्यमुक्तम् ।

Quoted, Y.H.D., p. 179.



(xxxvii) *Ojarāja* (1125-1175 A.D.)

He was probably an authority on the *Devīpāñcaśatika*, a recognized āgama on the Krama system. With regard to the portion of the text dealing with the importance of the "final seed" (*Antya Bija*), he differed from the usual interpretation owing to a variation in the reading of the text.<sup>1</sup> This is the only information available about him at present. Since this view was conveyed to Jayaratha by his teacher, *Ojarāja* might have been a predecessor or contemporary of the former's teacher. His date is quite uncertain. He may, tentatively, be placed during the period 1125-1175 A.D. due to his priority to Jayaratha's teacher. We are completely ignorant about other aspects of his personality.

(xxxviii) *Śivānanda II* (1125-1175 A.D.) : *Grand Teacher of Maheśvarānanda*

The contribution of the grand teacher of *Maheśvarānanda* is so vivid, rich, versatile and profound that it is difficult to find a like of him in the post-*Kṣemarāja* period save, perhaps, *Maheśvarānanda* and *Jayaratha*. The only drawback that has obscured his exuberant personality is the non-availability of his works in print. In him one is able to trace a systematic development of the post-*Kṣemarāja* form of the Krama system for which *Maheśvarānanda* fully leans on him. And it is really strange, when the Krama philosophy was moving towards its slow but gradual decay in Kashmir, *Maheśvarānanda* and his teachers kindled the fire in full blaze in Cola, the modern Karnatak, on the banks of *Kāveri*. One may, in other words, still say that their contribution was immense and so powerful that they succeeded in evolving a sort of Southern school of the Krama system—though it is not stated nor claimed anywhere. The thirteen-deity or not-twelve-deity doctrine, the extra emphasis on the five-fold functional dynamism of the Absolute, the sixtyfive mystic aspects of the *Vṛnda Cakra*, and induction

1. अन्त्यस्य च अस्य बीजस्य...इत्यादिना श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिके माहात्म्यमुक्तम् । अत्र च श्रीमदोजराजस्य पाठव्यत्यासात् मतान्तरमिति तद्गुरव एव प्रमाणम् ।

T A.V., XII, p. 197.

of greater esotericism in the body metaphysic of the Krama system in common with other cognate tantric creeds are the chief features of this school.

Except once, Maheśvarānanda does not refer to his grand teacher, Śivānanda, by name.<sup>1</sup> That he is doing so is itself established on going through the collateral evidence. He, however, ascribes the following works to his grand-teacher :

- (i) *Rjuvimarśinī*<sup>2</sup>
- (ii) *Krama-Vāsanā*<sup>3</sup>
- (iii) *Subhagodaya*<sup>4</sup>
- (iv) *Saubhāgyahṛdaya*<sup>5</sup>
- (v) *Saṃvit Stotra*<sup>6</sup>
- (vi) *Tripurasundarimandira Stotra*.<sup>7</sup>

Of these the first and third works namely, the *Rjuvimarśinī*<sup>8</sup> and the *Subhagodaya*, are extant even today. Their manuscripts in Malayalam characters are available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum. The *Subhagodaya*<sup>9</sup> is a Tripurā work and Sivānanda Yogi is the author of the text according to the concluding verses.<sup>10</sup> The *Rjuvimarśinī*<sup>11</sup> purports to be a commentary on the *Nityāṣoḍasikārnava Tantra*<sup>12</sup> on the lines of

1. तद्व्युदासेन बहुभिः श्रीशिवानन्दमहाप्रकशिमहेश्वरानन्दप्रभृतियोगीन्द्रैः संभूयवादिनोप-  
भुज्यमानत्वात् ।

*M.M.P.*, p. 134.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 112, 123, 129, 178, 193.

3. *M.M.P.*, pp. 115, 117.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 73.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 129.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

8. The *Rjuvimarśinī* has since been brought out under Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā by the Research Institute, Sanskrit University, Varanasi. It was under preparation while the present work was in progress.

9. MS. No. 878B, C.O.L. No. 960B, vide DCSMCO, Trivandrum, V. p. 1916-1917.

10. शिवानन्दमहायोगी सुभगोदयमब्रवीत् ।

MS No. 878B, C.O.L. No. 960B.

11. MS. No. 878D, C.O.L. No. 690D., *Ibid.*, p. 1920.

12. व्याकरोमि मनाक् श्रीमन्तित्याषोडशिकारणवम् ।

*Ibid.*, p. 1921.



the Lopāmudrā sect of the Tripurā system.<sup>1</sup> Its author is Śivānanda and his teacher is Svātmānanda.<sup>2</sup> The third work i.e., *Krama-vāsanā* also passes in the name of the *Subhagodaya-vāsanā*. Its manuscripts are preserved in the libraries of the Madras Government and the Kerala University.<sup>3</sup> The fourth work e.g., *Saubhāgya-hṛdayastotra* is available in manuscript in the library of BORI, Poona.<sup>4</sup> Both of these works have been taken note of by Maheśvarānanda,<sup>5</sup> the *Yogini-hṛdaya-dīpikā*<sup>6</sup> and the *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa-cidvalli*.<sup>7</sup> According to Dwivedi, the *Śāmbhavaikya-dīpikā* too is a work by Śivānanda and its incomplete manuscript is in the Madras Government Library.<sup>8</sup> Maheśvarānanda refers twice to this work but is silent about its authorship.<sup>9</sup>

Before adverting to the question of his time one is called upon to answer an important problem whether Śivānanda can be credited with the authorship of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*T*) as well. As will be realized later, a correct answer will necessarily reduce complexity of the riddle.

The authorship of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* is clouded in mystery, as nowhere in the body of the text itself one finds any reference whatever to its author. But the author makes it absolutely clear that he has written some more works<sup>10</sup> as the secrets of the Krama discipline cannot, for fear of corruption and

1. लोपामुद्राक्रमायातसम्प्रदायादयं पुनः ।

अकरोदायमस्यास्य व्याख्यामृजुविमशिनीम् ॥

*Ibid.*

2. इति श्रीमहामहेश्वराचार्यस्वात्मानन्दनाथशिष्याचार्यशिवानन्दनाथविरचितनित्याषोडशिकारणवसूत्रविचारिणी ऋजुविमशिनी सम्पूर्णा ।

*Ibid.*, p. 1923.

3-4. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्थापनरिचिता आचार्याः कृतयश्च,

*S.Su.* XX-2, p. 25.

5. *M.M.P.*, pp. 13, 73.

6. *T.H.D.*, p. 68.

7. *K.V.V.*, (C), pp. 5, 18; 36, 41, 43, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64.

8. *S.Su.* XX-2, p. 25.

9. *M.M.P.*, pp. 18, 167.

10. तत् प्रपञ्चितमन्यत्र यदतः साम्प्रतं मनाक् ।

*M.P.(T)*. 1.34

complacence, be put together at one place and only those who are well conversant with the antecedents and consequents of the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* can appreciate its teaching fully.<sup>1</sup> It is against this background that he refers to the *Samvit-stotra* in respect of certain doctrines.<sup>2</sup> And in the end of the printed text he attributes the authorship of the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka*, too, to himself.<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted here that one of these texts i.e., *Samvit-stotra*, has been attributed to his grand teacher by Maheśvarānanda. The other work i.e., the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka*,<sup>4</sup> as well as the *Mahānaya-prakāśa*<sup>5</sup> have been frequently quoted by Maheśvarānanda. Many of the passages ascribed to the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* are traceable to the printed text.<sup>6</sup> But quite a few of them<sup>7</sup> could not be located in the printed form. This simply goes to prove that the present text as printed is incomplete. It is, no doubt, bewildering that Maheśvarānanda, who is so scrupulous in referring to his teacher or grandteacher even where there is no occasion, should maintain reticence over the authorship of these important texts. In the first instance it appears that these works have a different author. But on the second look one may probably have to revise one's opinion. The reasons for this may be set forth below:

1. परं रहस्यं कथितं किञ्चित् किञ्चित् क्वचित् क्वचित् ।  
सर्वं समयभीष्टवान्नैकत्रैव प्रकाशयते ॥  
महानयप्रकाशेऽस्मिन् ये पूर्वापरवेदिनः ।  
हस्तामलकवत् तेषां वस्तुतत्त्वं प्रकाशते ॥

*Ibid.*, 6.23-24

2. स्तोत्रकारस्येदमेव स्थितं चेतसि यज्जगौ ।  
संवित्स्तोत्रैः समालोकप्रमाणार्थं प्रमातृ (दः?) तः ॥

*M.P.(T).*, 6.27.

3. एतदर्थानुसारेण स्तोत्रभट्टारके मया ।  
स्फुटं ये विवृताः श्लोकास्तत्... ॥

*Ibid.*, 9.69.

4. *M.M.P.*, pp. 104-5, 116, 127, 131.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97, 101, 104, 120, 179, 182.

6. *M.P.(T)*. 14, 32; 7.127-128, 175; 9.4-5, 50-51, 67-68.

7. *M.M.P.*, pp. 85, 87-88, 94-96, 99, 101-2, 104.



- (i) The author of the *Mahānayaṣprakāśa* and the *Stotra Bhaṭṭāraka* is the same, because the former uses the word "mayā" (by me) with reference to the latter.
- (ii) Although the reference to the *Samvit-stotra* is not accompanied by the word "mayā" or the like, it comes from the same pen—, contextual evidence lends enough support to it.
- (iii) The *Samvit-stotra* has been ascribed to his grand teacher by Maheśvarānanda. Hence, by implication, these two works should also be credited to the same authorship.
- (iv) Maheśvarānanda's reticence with regard to the two works is suggestive, yet it is not necessarily a negative gesture. Because in the case of the *Sāmbhavaikyadīpikā* it was pointed out that it is also a work of Śivānanda, the grand teacher of Maheśvarānanda, in spite of the fact that he (Maheśvarānanda) keeps silent about its authorship, too.
- (v) The work named *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka* cannot be dismissed as spurious<sup>1</sup> since (a) it has been quoted by Maheśvarānanda as well as Jayaratha<sup>2</sup> besides Śivānanda, and (b) there is complete correspondence between the *Mahānayaṣprakāśa* and the *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka* on the issues e.g., the thirteen Kālīs, unity of Prakāśa and Ānanda, Mantra as Supreme awareness, etc.<sup>3</sup>
- (vi) Śivānanda in his *Rjuvimarśinī* has elevated Prākṛta as the official language of the Tripurā school. This view was endorsed and its application extended to the Krama system by Maheśvarānanda.<sup>4</sup> There is an unmistakable evidence to suggest that the *Mahānayaṣprakāśa* was written originally in vernacular (Bhāṣayā

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1. *Abhi.*, pp. 478-479.

2. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 223.

3. *M.M.P.*, pp. 105, 116, 127.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

i.e., in Prākṛta).<sup>1</sup> This coincidence lends a further support to the alleged identity of the authors of the *Rjuvimarśinī* with that of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*.

- (vii) Even if, for a second, this authorship-equation is not granted there is absolutely no doubt that both—the author of the *Samvit-stotra*, as well as that of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*—occupy the same point on chronological scale because the author of the latter refers to the former and the grandson of the author of the former refers to the latter. In fact this historical coincidence in point of time is additional evidence in favour of the present contention establishing identity of the two.

In this connection one may agree with Dr. Pandey<sup>2</sup> in rejecting the ascription of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* to Abhinavagupta by Sambasiva Sastri.<sup>3</sup> The contention is utterly untenable in the face of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* clearly betraying the influence of Kṣemarāja.<sup>4</sup>

Let us now revert to the period of Śivānanda. The latest author referred to by Śivānanda is Kṣemarāja in the *Rjuvimarśinī*.<sup>5</sup> The books referred to are the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* and *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya Sūtra*. The precise implication is that Kṣemarāja marks Śivānanda's upper time-limit. Amṛtānanda, the author of the *Dīpikā* on the *Yoginī Hṛdaya* and a pupil of Puṇyānanda, refers to the *Subhagodayavāsanā* (i.e., *Krama-vāsanā*) of Śivānanda.<sup>6</sup> Although Amṛtānanda's time has not been finally

1. गीतं पुराणाधिष्ठानं भाषया यत्तदुत्तमम् ।

M.P.(T). 1.12.

2. *Abhi.*, p. 477.

3. *M.P.(T)*, Int., p. 2 (Skt. Int.)

4. For instance, see

अन्नोच्यते यदुक्तं तु विश्वोत्तीर्णचिन्तिः कथम् ।

सञ्चेत्यत समाविश्य विश्वानुभवभूमिकाम् ॥

M.P.(T). 3.17.

5. साम्प्रतिप्रपञ्चाशिकाविवृतिरचने श्रीक्षेमराजाचार्यकृते द्रष्टव्यः ।

*Rjuvimarśinī*, p. 229.

*Y.H.D.*, p. 68.



settled the general opinion among the scholars is to place him somewhere in the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> This may form the lower limit of Śivānanda's emergence. It is extremely significant to note that Jayaratha refers to two works of Śivānanda namely, the *Stotrabaṭṭāraka* and *Mahānayaṭṭrakāśa*. The first is mentioned with explicit reference to the title of the text.<sup>2</sup> A passage is cited<sup>3</sup> from the other without disclosing the source, but the same is found in the *Mahānayaṭṭrakāśa*.<sup>4</sup> It is quoted as a *prima facie* view propounding the thesis of the thirteen Kālīs against that of Jayaratha's Kālī-theory. Jayaratha's time is almost certain. His father Śṛṅgārāratha was a court-minister of king Rājārāja who is identified with the king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.). Hence he, in any case, must be active during the second half of the twelfth century (1150-1200 A.D.). Thus Śivānanda cannot be brought below this period, i.e., 1150-1200 A.D. Kṣemarāja, who constitutes upper limit, is assigned to about 975-1025 A.D. The gap can be reduced further, Maheśvarānanda refers to the *Cidgaganacandrikā* of which the probable time is almost settled. It is put around 1125-1175 A.D. Maheśvar-

1. *T.H.D.*, p. 11a. (Skt. Int.).

2. अत एव श्रीस्तोत्रभट्टारकेऽपि

कालानलाद्वयोमकलावसानं चिन्त्यं जगद्ग्रासकलालयेन ।

चक्रं महासंहृतिरूपमुग्रं गतं त्रिदाकाशपदस्थमित्यम् ॥

इत्यादिना संहारक्रमेणैव अस्योदयः उक्तः ।

*T.A.V.*, III, p. 223.

3. ननु अस्याः परस्याः संविदोऽन्वैरनयैव भङ्ग्या त्रयोदशात्मकत्वमुक्तम्,

यदुक्तम्—एकं स्वरूपरूपं हि मानमेयप्रमातृतः ।

सर्गावतारसंहारमयीराक्रम्य वर्तते ॥

स्वस्वरूपानुगुण्येन प्रत्येकं कलनावशात् ।

सृष्टिस्थित्यादिभिर्भेदैश्चतुर्धा ता अपि स्थिताः ॥

कालग्रासान्तमुदयाच्चतुर्धा विभवो हि यः ।

तस्य विश्रान्तिरेकैव ततो देव्यस्त्रयोदश ॥

अनाख्यचक्रे प्राधान्यात् पूजनीयतया स्थिताः । इति ।

इह च द्वादशकत्वमुच्यते इति किमेतत् ।

*Ibid.*

4. *M.P.(T)*, 9.15-18.

ānanda is the grand pupil of Śivānanda. It is, therefore, necessary that whatever probable period of Śivānanda's existence one may arrive at, it must account for both of them. Śivānanda is removed from Maheśvarānanda only by a generation. Since the latter refers to the *Cidgaganacandrikā*, his upper limit must be determined by this fact, that is, Maheśvarānanda cannot belong to an earlier period than 1125-1175 A.D. On the other hand, Śivānanda, by virtue of his being alluded to by Jayaratha, is not supposed to cross the period 1150-1200 A.D. In other words the upper limit of Śivānanda does not extend beyond 1075-1125 A.D. (As it is 1125-1175 A.D. for Maheśvarānanda) The lower limit of Śivānanda is almost decided, as noted above. Hence Śivānanda must flourish somewhere between 1075-1125 A.D. to 1125-1200 A.D. In order that Jayaratha might be able to refer to him he must be placed, at least by a generation above Jayaratha i.e., 1125-1175 A.D. He may, therefore be assigned to the second and third Quarter of the twelfth century. This also satisfactorily accounts for both of them, the grandteacher and his grand pupil, as will be clear from the following table :

Śivānanda (1125-1175 A.D.)

Mahāprakāśa (1150-1200 A.D.)

Maheśvarānanda (1175-1225 A.D.).

In this case Maheśvarānanda does not ascend beyond 1125-1275 A.D. on the upper side and Śivānanda does not descend below 1150-1175 A.D. on the lower side.

Now his system-wise contribution may be detailed in the form of the following table :

<i>Tripurā system</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Krama system</i>
1. <i>Ṛjuvimarśini</i>	1. <i>Śāmbhavaikya-</i>	1. <i>Mahānaya-</i>
2. <i>Kramavāsanā</i> (or <i>Subhagodayavāsanā</i> )	<i>dīpikā.</i>	<i>prakāśa.</i>
3. <i>Subhagodaya</i>		2. <i>Stotra-</i>
4. <i>Saubhāgyaḥṛdayastotra</i>		<i>Bhaṭṭāraka</i>
5. <i>Tripura-sundarīmandira-</i> <i>stotra.</i>		3. <i>Samvit-stotra</i>



For reasons of space we are constrained to leave out the detailed discussion on each work.

(xxxix) *Mahāprakāśa* (1150-1200 A.D.)

Mahāprakāśa is the esteemed teacher of Maheśvarānanda<sup>1</sup> and himself a disciple of Śivānanda. His time, therefore, ceases to be a problem and he is assigned to the latter half of the twelfth century.

Maheśvarānanda has paid glowing tributes to his wide erudition, profound scholarship and spiritual achievements.<sup>2</sup> It was upon his interpretation of the dream and inspiration that Maheśvarānanda took to writing of the *Mahārtha-mañjarī*.<sup>3</sup>

He had traditional insight into the Mahārtha system which came direct to him through his teacher and which he passed on to his illustrious pupil.<sup>4</sup> He is described as an author of the tantric treatises (Tantrakṛt), though none of his works is physically extant. All his works are accessible only in the form of extracts therefrom in the *Parimala*. He was a prolific author of the Stotras, three of which have been brought to our notice by *Parimala*. His *Mātāṅgistotra* probably dealt with the concept of Śuddha-vidyā.<sup>5</sup> His another stotra was the *Ānandatāṇḍavavilāsa-stotra* pertaining to the Absolute

1. नत्वा नित्यशुद्धौ गुरोश्चरणी महाप्रकाशस्य ।

ग्रथ्नाति महार्थमञ्जरीमिमां सुरभिं महेश्वरानन्दः ॥

M.M. 1.

2. तच्च तत्त्वविदं लोके वेदशास्त्रकलास्वपि ।

महार्थसिन्धुमन्यानं श्रावयामास देशिकम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 199.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

5. यदुक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिः श्रीमातङ्गीस्तोत्रे —

स्तनां धनौ पूर्णसुधौ सुकान्ती तवेशि तन्नामि परस्वराभौ ।

स्थिता समानाधिकृतौ सुविद्ये समौ तवैवाहमिदम्प्रकाशौ ।

*Ibid.*, p. 44.

freedom as the cosmic principle of causation.<sup>1</sup> The third stotra i.e., *Manonūsāsana-stotra* dealt with the principle of mind as a unique sense-instrument.<sup>2</sup> His greatest contribution, however, was Maheśvarānanda himself.

(xl) *Jayaratha* (1150-1200 A.D.)

The name of Jayaratha is a milestone in the history of the Krama thought. His commentary on the first, fourth, thirteenth and twenty-ninth Āhnikas of the *Tantrāloka* is not only a monument of the Krama culture and philosophical discipline but also a repository of the innumerable historical allusions without which the Krama history would have suffered in accuracy, precision and vastness. The last verse of his *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* proclaims him to be a thinker of profound merit and matchless standing in Krama in addition to all the then important branches of learning.<sup>3</sup> And it is not a boastful or conceited statement, since it is well known that his contribution covers a vast field ranging from all the schools under Kashmir Śaivism and Tripurā System to literature. In Krama, he is proud of the fact that he directly came in the preceptorial lineage of Bhānuka, a student of Keyūraṇavati.<sup>4</sup> He

1. यच्चोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिरानन्दताण्डवविलासस्तोत्रे —

वर्यं त्विमां विश्वतयावमानं बहिर्मुखस्यास्य तवोन्मुखस्य ।

स्वसंहितं विश्वविलापनोद्यत्स्वतन्त्रतानन्दमयीं नमामः ॥

*M.M.P.*, p. 166.

2. तदुक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिर्मनोनुशासनस्तोत्रे —

हंसाः पतन्ति गगने प्रविसार्यं पक्षौ स्वी सर्वदेव किल मानसराजहंस ।

अत्यद्भुता तव गतिगंगने परस्मिन् विक्षेपशून्यमयपक्षयुगं विहाय ।

*Ibid*, p. 12 ; also see pp. 46, 94.

3. पदे वाक्ये माने निखिलशिवशास्त्रोपनिषदि

प्रतिष्ठां यातोऽहं यदपि निरवधं जयरथः ।

तथाप्यस्यामङ्गं क्वचन भुवि नास्ति त्रिकटशि

क्रमार्यो वा मत्तः सपदि कुशलः कश्चिदपरः ॥

*T.A.V.*, VII, pp- 434-35.

4. तस्यैव (भानुकस्य) चैषा श्रीमदुज्जटोद्भूतादिनानागुरुपरिपाटीसन्ततिः यत्प्रसादासादित-  
महिमाभिरस्माभिरेतत् प्रदर्शितम् ।

*T.A.V.*, III, pp. 192-93.



was, equally, conversant with the other tradition headed by Govindarāja.<sup>1</sup> And, in addition, his familiarity with the southern scholars<sup>2</sup> goes to evince the vast realm of Krama practically covered by him. Jayaratha probably understood the value of viewing a scholar, for fuller appreciation, against his historical background. He, therefore, provides us with a sufficiently detailed account of his ancestral as well as preceptorial lineage which may be given in these tables.<sup>3</sup> (see pp. 211, 212)

From these tables it may be clear that his time poses no difficulty. The dates of his three ancestors are known. From Utpalaratha II (1028-63 A.D.) he is away by four generations and from Śivaratha (1101-11 A.D.) he is separated by three generations. Śṛṅgārāratha, his father and a minister of Rājārāja, who is generally identified with king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.), is succeeded by him immediately. On the preceptorial plane, he is removed by two generations from Viśvadatta, his great-grand teacher and a younger contemporary of Utpalaratha II (1028-1063 A.D.), who brought the former up after the death of his father. After giving due allowance for the intervening generations, he may be safely assigned to the second half of the twelfth century (i.e., 1150-1200 A.D.). This is further confirmed by the fact that he in his *Vimarśinī* refers to the *Prthvīrājaviṣaya*<sup>4</sup> of Jayānaka. According to the general consensus of historians Prthvīrāja died in the year 1193 A.D. and before his death the work had been written. This is vindicated still further by the fact that Jayaratha wrote his *Vimarśinī* on the *Alaṅkāra Sarvasva* of Ruyyaka who was a senior (See p. 211)

1. यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः ।

*Ibid.*, p. 198.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 128 [quoting *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* (T)] and 223 (quoting *Stotra bhāṣāraka*).

3. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 430-433.

4. यथा पृथ्वीराजविजये —

गृह्णद्भिः परया भक्त्या बाणलिङ्गपरम्पराः ।

अनमदेव यत्सैन्यैर्निरमीयत नर्मदा ॥

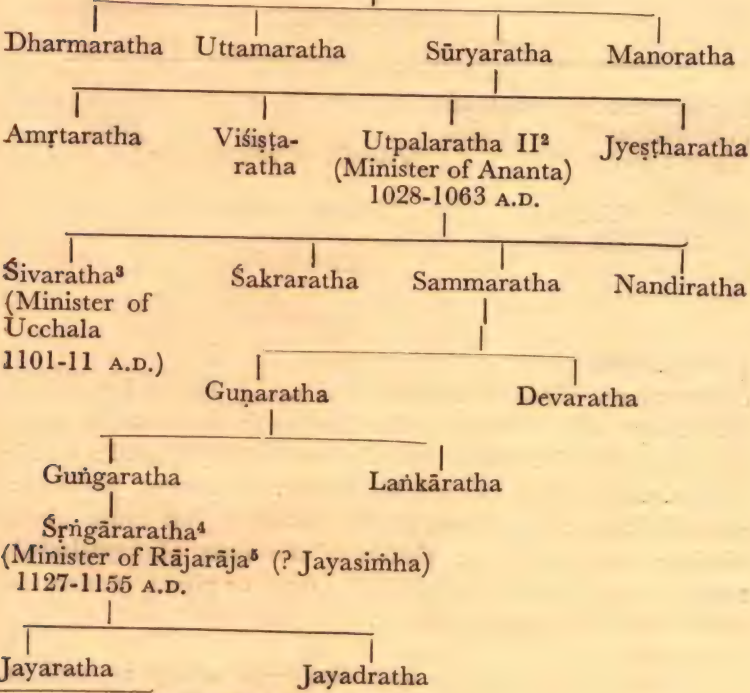
*Alaṅkāra-sarvasva-vimarśinī*, p. 82.

## I. Parental Genealogy

Pūrṇamanoratha (Minister of Yaśaskara 939 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

Utpalaratha I

Prakāśaratha



1. T.A.V., XII, p. 430, verse 8.

2. *Ibid.*, verse 13.

3. शिवरात्र्युत्सवे श्लोकममुं शिवरथाभिधः ।

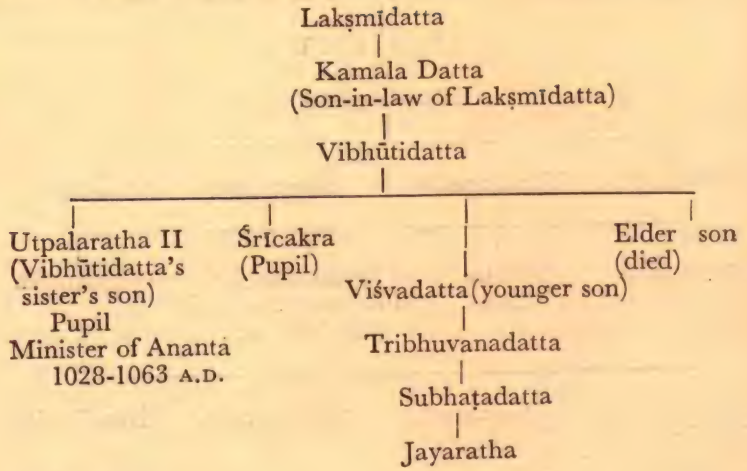
विद्वान् पठंस्तेन हठात्सर्वाङ्घ्र्यक्षो व्यधीयत ॥

Rāj. T., VIII, V, 911.

4. T.A.V., XII, p. 432, verse 28 : Alankāra-Sarvasva-Vimarśinī, p. 257.

5. We know of one Rājadeva (1213-1236 A.D.) also. But it is difficult to identify him with Rājaraṭha because, on the testimony of Jonarāja (Raj. Verse 74-87) he was just a usurper and had neither talents nor energy for asserting his authority (vide Rāj. of Jonarāja, pp. 56-57 V.V.R.I.). It is difficult to believe that such a king would have patronized Jayaratha. In addition, this equation will also lead to historical and chronological absurdities which it would be difficult to reconcile.



II. Preceptorial Genealogy<sup>1</sup>

(From p. 210)

contemporary of Mañkha (1125-1175 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Hence Jayaratha's date may either coincide with Mañkha's or be little later. Since Jayaratha's father is a minister of king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.), he must succeed his father. Moreover, Jayaratha owes the inspiration for writing his *Viveka* to the same king,<sup>3</sup> his date must be in the vicinity of the time of Jayasimha's reign. In view of all these factors, he must be placed during the latter half of the twelfth century.

Thus he was gifted both ways—parentally as well as preceptorially. Even his younger brother Jayadratha is famous for his epic poem called *Haracarita-cintāmaṇi* and his stotra

1. T.A.V., XII, pp. 430-31, 433-34.

2. तं श्रीरुच्यकमालोक्य स प्रियं गुरुमग्रहीत् ।

सौहार्दप्रश्नयस्सत्तोतःसंभेदमञ्जनम् ॥

S.K.C., 25.30.

3. इह मम गतस्तन्मालोके विवेचयतो यतो

निरवधिभिप्रेतोत्साहः स एव निमित्तात् ।

T.A.V., XII, p. 432, v. 30.

called *Paridevitadvādaśikā*, still unpublished, but available in manuscript<sup>1</sup> in the library of Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. There is no ground for the identity of the two brothers as alleged in some quarters because Jayaratha makes it clear that he was the elder.<sup>2</sup>

He was son of Śṛṅgāraratha who carried out renovations of five buildings at the Mahādeva hill.<sup>3</sup> His initiation was performed by Subhaṭadatta<sup>4</sup> whose *Vivaraṇa* on the *Tantrāloka* proved a model for his *Viveka*.<sup>5</sup> In statecraft he owed his proficiency to his father's teacher Śṛṅgāra, son of Dāśirājānaka.<sup>6</sup> He received lessons in Śaivism and other āgamic lore from Kalyāṇa. His other teacher Śaṅkhadhara or Saṅgadhara imparted education in all other sciences including Grammar and Mīmāṃs.<sup>7</sup>

Coming to his works one finds that his creative genius almost covered all the fields and in this he is superseded only by his master Abhinavagupta. The *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* is

1. Classification No. 175 (Bhakti).

2. ज्येष्ठोजयोरकार्षीत् तन्त्रालोके विवेकमिमम् ।

*T.A.V.*, XII, p. 434, v. 41.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 433; verse 37.

4. श्रीमुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥

*Ibid.*, verse 35.

5. व्यधुस्तन्त्रालोके किल मुभटपादा विवरणम् ।

यदर्थं यश्चैभ्यो निखिलशिवशास्त्रार्थविदभूत् ॥

*Ibid.*, verse 39.

6. अप्यस्य राजतन्त्रे चिन्तयतो राजतन्त्रमास गुरुः ।

दाशीराजानकजन्मा श्रीशृङ्गारो ममापि परमगुरुः ॥

*Ibid.*, verse 36.

7. श्रीशृङ्गाररथादवाप्य कृतिनो जन्मानवद्यक्रमं

श्रीमच्छङ्खधरात्परं परिचयं विद्यासु सर्वास्वपि ।

श्रीकल्याणतनोः शिवादधिगमं सर्वागमानामपि

व्याख्यातं प्रथमाङ्गिकं जयरथेनाशावधेयं बुधैः ॥

*T.A.V.*, I, p. 310.

Also see *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 433, verse 39-41.



a monument of his learning, but for which Abhinava would have been a mystery to us. On the Tripurā system he gave us *Vivaraṇa* which was a commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarimata*. On the rise and development of the Tripurā system in Kashmir no better source can be pointed out.

In the field of poetics he wrote *Vimarśinī* on the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* of Ruyyaka and presented a model of constructive literary criticism to the later commentaries. Among his thoroughly original works he is credited with writing a work called *Alaṃkārodāharaṇa* that served as a preliminary to the studies in poetics by his grandson Saṅgaka. In the last verse of this work, he refers to his *Vimarśinī*.<sup>1</sup> There is a manuscript of it in the BORI Library, Poona.<sup>2</sup> Besides these, he composed a *Stotra* also<sup>3</sup>, three verses from which are quoted by Śivopādhyāya in his commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*.<sup>4</sup> Śivopādhyāya also cites his opinion on the natural Japa.<sup>5</sup> Jayaratha quotes from himself without specifying the source of his own statement in the *Vāmakeśvarimata-vivaraṇa*.<sup>6</sup> On comparing the nature and versi-

1. प्रतिज्ञामात्रमेवैतद् इत्युपेक्ष्य विचक्षणीः ।

अलंकारविशिष्टां युक्तिरुक्तचरान्न यत् ॥

सङ्गकमुद्दिश्य निजं सत्यपि बाल्ये श्रुतार्थिनं पौत्रम् ।

अलिखन्निखिलालङ्कृतिसिद्धान्तं जयरथः स्फुटार्थपदम् ॥

*Alaṃkārodāharaṇam*, end. (MS)

2. MS. No. 240 of 1875-76 of Government Collection.

3. जयरथोऽपि एतद्रहस्यनयनिष्ठितानां तीर्थादिकमपि अनुपयुक्तमेवाह, यदुक्तं स्तोत्रे ।

*V.Bh.V.*, p. 125.

4. बहुलमहसि बोधे प्रोचलत्येकरूपे जननमरणभाषां कातराः कल्पयित्वा ।

अविदितपरमार्थास्तीर्थदेवालययादिश्रवणमुपदिशन्तो हन्त नापन्नपन्ते ॥

oo

oo

oo

नयकलनया यस्योद्भूते विवेकपरामृते

तूणमिव न सा जीवन्मुक्तिर्गता गणनीयताम् ।

प्रमयसमये प्रत्यासन्ने स्वसंविदि संस्फुरन्

अभिलषति नैवान्त्येष्ट्याद्याः क्रियाः पशुकल्पिताः ॥

oo

oo

oo

प्राग्जन्मकोटिसमुपाजितदुष्कृतौषखेदावहं कमपि पिण्डमवैति जन्तुः ।

ऊर्ध्वोऽर्ध्वंशासनरतोऽपि गुरुमृताय तस्मै समर्पयति पिण्डमिति प्रमादः ॥

*Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

6. *V.M.V.*, p. 58.

cular style of the two passages, the likelihood of his having written another work or works on the Tripurā or other systems becomes stronger.

(xli) *Maheśvarānanda* (1175-1225 A.D.)

Maheśvarānanda is one of the most prolific authors on the Krama system. His solitary extant work, the *Mahārathamāñ-jari* with the *Parimala* on it, gives a clear idea of his deep insight into and enormous contribution to the Krama system. Like Jayaratha, he also claims a complete command over not only the *Pratyabhijñā Kārikās* and *Śivadṛṣṭi*, but also on the manifold secrets of the Krama philosophy.<sup>1</sup> He moved with equal felicity in the Kula system.<sup>2</sup> The very pattern on which the *Mahārathamāñjari* moves, conforms to his synthetic approach to the Krama system by placing it in the overall perspective of the Kashmir Śaivism. This attempt of his reflects the impact of the *Tantrāloka* which marks an essay in synthesis and not in isolated analysis of the Trika systems.

His original name was Gorakṣa, but on his baptism he was named Maheśvarānanda<sup>3</sup> by his teacher. He is apparently different from his various namesakes in tantric philosophy.<sup>4</sup> The traditional Krama philosophy was inherited by him and he came direct in the line of the Krama teachers.<sup>5</sup> He hailed from Cola, modern Karnatak, on the banks of Kaveri (southern Mysore). He was the son of Madhu (Mādhava) and a devout pupil of Mahāprakāśa.<sup>6</sup> He became a consummate scholar in

1. अवगतशिवदृष्टिप्रत्यभिज्ञार्थतत्त्वक्रमसरणिरहस्योल्लासर्वसस्ववेदी ।

गुरुचरणसपर्याचातुरीचिद्वनोऽहं गहनमपि हृदन्तर्व्योम तद् व्याकरोमि ॥

*M.M.P.*, p. 2.

2. इह महति रहस्योन्मूलने मङ्गलाय प्रभवति मम संविद्योगिनीनां प्रसादः ।

अपितु कुलसपर्याविम्बसंबन्धवन्ध्याः सकृदपि मतिमन्तो नैनमुद्धाटयन्तु ॥

*Ibid.*

3. गोरक्षो लोकधिया देशिकुष्टया महेश्वरानन्दः ।

*Ibid.*, p. 1.

4. *Abhi.*, p. 274.

5. *M.M.P.*, pp. 98, 99, 134, 197.

6. चोलास्ते सततोत्सवा जनपदाः श्लाघ्यो गुणीर्माधवो

रेतान्धाः(?) स्फटिकावदातहृदयो नाथः प्रकाशो महान् ।

*Ibid.*, p. 202.



poetics after acquiring an insight into the *Kāvyaśloka* of Ānanda-vardhana and the *Locana* by Abhinava.<sup>1</sup> Then he made his way into the Pratyabhijñā system. As a yogin he conducted successful experiments in spiritualism and consequently was a self-realized person.<sup>2</sup> Like Jayaratha, he has secured an enviable position, since he ensures a monolith of information for the historical reconstruction of the Kashmir Śaivism in general and the krama system in particular. As mentioned by him, he travelled far and wide in almost every direction before he took to writing the *Mahārthamañjarī*.<sup>3</sup>

He belongs to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century (1175-1225 A.D.). One need not go into the reasons for it, since they have already been dwelt upon at length while discussing the period of his grand teacher Śivānanda.

Whatever contribution he has made to the Krama system or other fields is known today from references only made by himself in the *Parimāla* commentary. So far we know of eleven works from his pen—

Name of work	Number of the reference-page in M.M.P.
1. <i>Mahārtha-mañjarī</i>	(Extant).
2. <i>Parimāla</i>	(Extant).
3. <i>Pādukodaya</i>	11-12, 90, 99, 100, 103, 105, 112, 118, 149, 177.
4. <i>Samvidullāsa</i>	12, 23, 29, 32, 33, 78-9, 104, 111, 127, 137, 151, 152, 158-59, 172.
5. <i>Mahārthodaya</i>	108, 132.
6. <i>Sūkta</i>	59.

1. साहित्याब्धी कर्णधारोऽहमासं काव्यालोकं लोचनं चानुशील्य ।  
तद्वत् स्वच्छं लब्धवानस्मि बोधं पान्थो भूत्वा प्रत्यभिज्ञापदव्याम् ॥

*Ibid.*

2. समयानुप्रवेशमङ्गलमहाभिषेकसम्पत्संस्कारोपारोहप्रक्षालितमलोपलेपत्वात्,  
औत्तराम्नायाद्यशेषशस्त्रार्थविबोधशिक्षाशालित्वात् ।

*Ibid.*, p. 6.

3. अर्चयन् देवतां नित्यं जपन् ध्यायंश्च निश्चलम् ।  
पर्यटंश्च दिशामन्तान् कालं कञ्चिदवाहयत् ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 197.

Name of work	Number of the reference-page in M.M.P.
7. <i>Parāstotra</i>	77-78, 94, 107, 140, 148.
8. <i>Komalavallīstava</i>	53, 73, 75, 79, 89, 116, 123.
9. <i>Mukundakeli</i>	73.
10. <i>Kuṇḍalābharāṇa</i>	73.
11. <i>Nakhapratāpa</i>	73.

Perhaps, he has written certain other works in addition to the above. In the penultimate verse of the *Parimala* he has spoken of one *Krama* as his work.<sup>1</sup> We are not aware if the verse may be interpreted otherwise. For, the use of plural number in the word “*Krama*” coming at the end of *Samāhāra-Dvandva* compound should bear out the present observation. Even otherwise he cites a passage without indicating its source and ascribing it to himself.<sup>2</sup> The verse in question discusses the technical *Krama* concept of ‘*Gatī*’. It is again doubtful if the said verse is from the book suggested above. If this contention holds good, the number of his works goes upto twelve.

It appears that the *Parimala* on the *Mahārthamañjarī* is his last work, because it is here that the cognizance of these works is taken. It is, however, certain that *Mahārthamañjarī* was taken up immediately after his *Pādukodaya*.<sup>3</sup> On his own admission<sup>4</sup> we know that at least his five works namely, *Mahārthamañjarī* (and for the reason of that *Parimala*, too), *Pādukodaya*, *Komala-vallī*-or *Komala-stava*, *Parāstuti* and *Krama* are strictly the *Krama*

1. पादुकोदयमहार्थमञ्जरीकोमलास्तव परास्तुतिक्रमैः ।  
स्फारयन् भुवि महार्थसंविदं देशिको विजयते महेश्वरः ॥

M.M.P. p. 203.

2. सृष्ट्यादिषु कृत्येषु इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्मकशक्तिव्रयाङ्गीकारो गतिरिति ।  
तदुक्तं मयैव—नैश्चिन्त्योत्कटमुच्चलन्नभिलषन् सर्वोत्तरं वतितुं  
स्वस्मिन् भेदमभेदितेऽपि विमृशन् स्वात्माविशेषं स्फुरन् ।  
अर्थात्तानामुदयव्ययप्रकृतिभूरुच्छायवानिच्छया  
देवो ह्यक्रिययोः प्रदीप्तमहिमा भावेषु वो दीव्यतु ॥

Ibid., p. 180.

3. सद्यस्त्वद्ददनात् तस्मात्पादुकोदयशोधितात् ।  
पुरातनागमप्रख्या ग्रन्थः प्रख्यायतां महान् ॥

Ibid., p. 199.

4. Fn. 1 above.



texts. However, this list leaves out the *Mahārthodaya* which, too, is a Krama text as its very name implies and which primarily deals with rejuvenation of the respective deities and mantras.<sup>1</sup> His other two works namely, *Samvidullāsa* and *Sūkta*, are no doubt philosophical works and in a broad way echo the salient theses of the Kashmir Śaivism, but no information is at hand about their precise doctrinal associations. Regarding the rest of the works that comprise *Kuṇḍalābharāṇa*, *Mukundakeli* and *Nakṣapratāpa*, the absence of extracts therefrom and Maheśvarānanda's wholesale taciturnity make it extremely difficult to be definite about them. But the contextual evidence does demonstrate his emphasis on the literary merit of these works.<sup>2</sup> Probably these were the pieces of literature. Although the *Komalavallistava* and *Parimala* have also figured in along with these, they have been shown to be Krama works.

The *Mahārthamañjari* was the practical realization of a divine vision. The story has it that he was impelled by a Yoginī, in whom he visualized Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī, to undertake the writing of the *Mahārthamañjari*.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, according to Prof. A.N. Upadhye, it is a composition of the Saptati or Saptati pattern.<sup>4</sup> Since the Yoginī, who appeared in dream used Prākṛta in expressing her will, he adopted Prākṛta in his *Mahārthamañjari* though he does not betray the command on Prākṛta which he has on Sanskrit.<sup>5</sup> But philosophically it is a mature text and

1. अत्र च तत्तद्देवतामन्त्रोद्धारो मदीये महार्थोदये पर्यालोचनीयः ।

M.M.P., p. 108.

2. अतश्च शब्दार्थसामरस्यात्मनि साहित्येऽप्यस्मदाग्रहः पारमेश्वरेऽनुग्रह एव यदनुप्राणनाः कुण्डलाभरणमुकुन्दकेलिपरिमलकोमलवल्लीस्तवनखप्रतापादयः प्रबन्धाः प्रख्यायन्ते ।

Ibid., p. 73.

3. स्वप्नसमयोलब्धा सा सुमुखी सिद्धयोगिनी देवी ।

गाथाभिः सप्तत्या स्वापितभाषाभिरस्तु सम्प्रीता ॥

M.M.P., p. 2.

4. 'Prakrit Languages and Kashmir Śaivism', Prof. A.N. Upadhye Dr. S.K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, p. 193.

5. The composition of the Gāthās clearly betrays that the author thinks and mentally drafts first in Sanskrit and then renders them into Prakrit. This introduces a mechanical form and dialectical artificiality in the verses. Ibid.

well deserves its description as a "Prasthāna Grantha".<sup>1</sup> It was also known as *Mahākrama-mañjarī*.<sup>2</sup>

The work called *Pādukodaya* is so named because it expounded the notion of Pādukā as its central theme. Pādukā is identical with the Power-absolute which consists in pure bliss and tends to eliminate the sense of duality between self and notself.<sup>3</sup> It is purely a Krama concept.<sup>4</sup> Maheśvarānanda has considerably influenced the subsequent tantric literature. For instance, Śivopādhyāya leans on him for supporting his several statements.<sup>5</sup> Rāmeśvara, the commentator on *Paraśu-rāma-kalpa-sūtra*, refers to him on no less than three occasions.<sup>6</sup> Kaivalyāśrama quotes from his *Parimala* in the *Saubhāgyavaradhini* on the *Ānanda-Lahari*,<sup>7</sup> Rājānakalakṣmīrāma, an 18th century commentator on *Parātrīṃśikā* quotes the *Mahārthamañjarī* in his commentary styled as *laghu-Vṛtti*.<sup>8</sup> *Saubhāgyavaradhī* i also refers to some *Parāstotra* and cites from it.<sup>9</sup> It is not known if it was identical with one composed by our author.

It is to be noted that Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Tattvopaplava-siṃha* styles his work as the *Mahārthodaya*.<sup>10</sup> But it is definitely a different work, because (i) Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa is much anterior to Maheśvarānanda, and (ii) the work by the former is addressed to the Lokāyata system, whereas the latter's deals with the Krama system. Hence the two cannot be identical.

1. *M.M.P.*, p. 202.

2. *Ibid.*

3,4. यथोपदिष्टमन्त्रविद्धि:—परापरात्मनः स्वात्मनः परानन्दमयी स्वव्यतिरेककवलनोद्युक्ता परा शक्तिः पादुकेति गीयते इति ।...इति स्थित्या प्रतिपादितसर्वार्थक्रमगमन्तमवर्जनीयम् । एतच्च तत्प्रतिपादनमात्रोपक्षीणव्यापारे मदीये श्रीपादुकोदये तन्त्रे द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

*M.M.P.*, p. 100.

5. *V.Bh.V.*, pp. 109 111, 137.

6. *P.K.S.*, pp. 64, 95, 114, 115, 117.

7. *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 46.

8. *P.T.L.V.*, p. 7. (KSS No. 69).

9. *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 46.

10. भट्टश्रीजयदेवराशिगुरुभिः सृष्टो महार्थोदयः ।

तत्त्वोपप्लवसिंह एव इति यः कथ्यति परं यास्यति ॥

*Tattvopaplavasīṃha* of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa, p. 125 (last portion).



With such an outstanding personality the later stage of the creative phase comes to an end and one finally enters into a period of darkness and complete decadence.

(xlii) *Śitikaṇṭha* (1450-1500 A.D.)

Barring the studies in Cola, the Krama studies in Kashmir practically came to a dead stop after Jayaratha. This lull is broken by *Śitikaṇṭha*. Thus there were a few sporadic activities during this period as references to one Siddhapāda<sup>1</sup> by *Śitikaṇṭha* show, who like Lallā ventilated his views through the then Kashmiri dialect. There is reason to believe that the traditional lore of the system also did not die out completely because *Śitikaṇṭha* himself claims to have inherited from, through preceptorial lineage indeed, *Īśāna* who was one of the eight students of *Cakrabhānu*.<sup>2</sup> But there is no evidence to indicate if it had any creative activity worth the name. The three hundred and odd blank years are beset with the appearance of *Śitikaṇṭha* on the Krama horizon with his *Mahānaya Prakāśa* which is different from its namesake by *Sivānanda* from Cola.

Besides the *Mahānaya prakāśa*, his other works include the *Stotramālā*,<sup>3</sup> *Kaulasūtra* and commentary on the *Kātantra Vṛtti*. The *Mahānaya prakāśa* or *Mahārthaparakāśa*, as it is alluded to by several catalogues, is extant in print and is almost complete (KSS No. XXI). Not only that it helps one trace the missing links in the history but also that it gives a thorough exposition of the Mahārtha principle. It is composed in the local vernacular of Kashmir of his time.<sup>4</sup> But the commentary, that too

1. यत् सिद्धपादा आदिदिशुः..... ।

*M.P. (S)*, p. 32 ; also pp. 59-60.

2. ततश्च मानवौघस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुपादः अष्टानां शिष्याणां प्रभुः यन्मध्याद्राज्ञी ईशानाख्या विदितं पारम्पर्यविदाम् ।

*M.P. (S)*, p. 107.

It may, however, be noted that the pedigree of his teachers to be given towards the end of this section does not include the name of *Īśāna*. It is possible that *Soma*, who heads the list, might have come in that tradition—we do not know.

3. Dr. Pandey attributes, perhaps due to oversight, this work to the author of *Mahānaya prakāśa*. Vide *Abhi*. p. 439. *Śitikaṇṭha* ascribes the work to himself; *M.P. (S)*. p. 47.

4. अथोचितरुचितां नृतिं सर्वगोचरया देशभाषया विरचयितुमाह ।

*M.P. (S)*. pp. 47-48.

also by the same author, is in Sanskrit. Towards the beginning of the century Grierson contributed a valued paper on the philological study of the Kashmiri language as used in this work. For reasons of space as well as relevance one has to abstain from going into details on this question.<sup>1</sup> He himself refers to the *Stotramālā* as a work from his pen.<sup>2</sup> There are two manuscripts of the same name in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.<sup>3</sup> As the contents of the MSS could not be looked into, it is difficult to be sure of its author or subject matter. But presumably it pertains to the *Stotramālā* of Śitikaṇṭha, because hitherto no *Stotramālā* by any other author has come to light as belonging to the Kashmir Śaivism. The *Kula Sūtra* or *Kaulasūtra* is his next work which pertains to the Kula system. Śitikaṇṭha also quotes from one *Kulasūtra* without mentioning the author.<sup>4</sup> But the two manuscripts that are available today ascribe it to the authorship of Śitikaṇṭha in their colophons.<sup>5</sup> Aufrecht has taken notice of this

1. "The results value from two points of view. In the first place, they show clearly the lines of connection between the Indo-aryan side of Kashmiri and Sanskrit and, in the second place, they throw light on the various forms in Modern Kashmiri that, but for the Mahānaya-prakāśa, would be inexplicable."

Sir George A-Grierson, "The Language of the Mahānaya-prakāśa : An Examination of Kashmiri as written in the Fifteenth Century", *Mem. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. xi, No. 2, p. 79.

2. यत्स्तुतं स्तोत्रमालायां मयैव—

विलोक्यते चित्रपटे यथोभयं पटैक्यमन्तवंपुषां गणो बहिः ।

अखण्डधाम्नोऽन्तरमुख्य वेत्ता ज्ञानत्वमक्षान्तजूषां चिदचिषाम् ॥

*M.P. (S)*, pp. 47-48.

3. MSS Nos. 568 and 569 of 1884-86, BORI, Poona.

4. तथा च कुलसूत्रेषु उक्तम्—

कुलपीठक्षेत्रादिवर्णपञ्चपिण्डप्रणवव्यपदेश्यमखिलाभासरूपाया अहंभावाभिमतसंविदः  
समाश्रयभूतमात्मायतनं शरीरम् । इति

*M.P. (S)*, p. 60.

5. इति श्रीशितिकण्ठस्य शुभम् ।

(Kashmir MS).

कृतिर्गुरुभट्टश्रीशितिकण्ठस्येति शुभम् ।

(BORI MS).



work.<sup>1</sup> The one of the two extant manuscripts of this work belongs to Pt. Dīnānātha Yakṣa, the formerly head Pandit of Sanskrit section, Research Department, Srinagar and other is available in BORI Library, Poona.<sup>2</sup> Both the MSS begin with a similar remark by the scribe that he has written only a part of the text owing to the mutilated and dilapidated condition of the model script.<sup>3</sup> But still the MS at BORI is more correct and enlarged. The (BORI) MS appears to have finished where its Kashmiri counterpart ends,<sup>4</sup> but it again takes up the thread. The *Kulasūtra* seems to have been originally divided into sixteen chapters called Svarakalās.<sup>5</sup> The (BORI) MS in its continuation gives seven such Kalās from 10th to 16th. The nine are missing. Under such circumstances one should not be surprised if one does not find the passage cited by Śitikanṭha in the MS. The work is in the Sūtra style and highlights the esoteric aspect of the Kula system. The relevant aspects of the text of the MS have been taken note of in the philosophical portion of the thesis. It may, however, be noted in passing that the BORI MS refers to the Kula and Krama system alike.<sup>6</sup> And a comparative analysis of the *Mahānayaṇaprakāśa* and the *Kulasūtra* unearths the identity of views with regard to a few controversial problems of the Krama and further establishes the oneness of their authorship. His fourth work, called Nyāsa, is a famous sub-commentary on the *Bālabodhinī* commentary by Jagaddhara on the *Kātantra Vṛtti*. The present enquiry would not be even remotely connected with the work in the present

1. *Cat. Cat*, App. 1. 445.

2. MS. No. 445 of 1875-76, BORI, Poona.

3. अथ कौलसूत्रान्तर्गतानि कानिचित् सूत्राणि लिख्यन्ते आदर्शछिन्नभिन्नत्वात् ।

(Both MSS).

4. पामरोक्तोपासकसाधकसिद्धिसंयुजां सहैव सहसा साहसाचरणात् समरसीभूतानां वस्तुनि नान्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गतापरस्परम् । इति । कौलसूत्राणि ।

MS. BORI, folio 2a (Kashmiri MS ends here).

5. इति कुलसूत्रेषु षोडशस्वरकला ॥

MS. BORI, folio 4b.

\*6. यतः कुलक्रमप्रतिष्ठितप्रत्यक्सिद्धः समा(मया)चार एव मङ्गलीदकः । इति कुलसूत्रेषु द्वादशस्वरकला ।

*Ibid.*, folio 3a.

context, but for its autobiographical references that make the task of determining his date much easier. He is remotely blood-related to Jagaddhara. He is son of the daughter's daughter of the great-grandson of Jagaddhara.<sup>1</sup> And he wrote his *Nyāsa* during the reign of Hasan Shah, the son of Haider Shah.<sup>2</sup> Sri Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi basing his conclusions on the various statements of the *Nyāsa* points out that before he undertook to write the *Nyāsa*, he visited Gujarat and was warmly received by the king Mohammad Shah.<sup>3</sup> According to the *Kāsmirakusuma* by Hariścandra, Husain Shah came to throne in 4583 Kali year equivalent to 1482 A.D. This date is confirmed, with slight modification, by Śrīvara who puts the period of reign of Hasan Shah from 1472 to 1484 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and, according to the *Rāsamālā*,<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Shah ruled over Gujarat from 1458 to 1511 A.D. On the basis of these historical data it is easy to find out his place in the chronology. He had visited Gujarat before he wrote his commentary; and while he started writing, king Hasan Shah was at the helm. Hence he must have begun his work by 1480-82 A.D. Allowing a margin of about thirty years for intellectual equipment he may be assigned to the latter half of the 15th century. That is, he seems to have flourished during 1450-1500 A.D. On the basis of a few verses in the introduction, according to Dr. Nagarajan,<sup>6</sup> his family tree on the parental

1. श्रीबालबोधिन्यभिधां कवीन्द्रो जगद्धरो यां विततान वृत्तिम् ।  
तन्मत्तुकन्यातनयातनूजो व्याख्याम्यहं तां शितिकण्ठकोऽल्पम् ॥

Quoted from *Nyāsa*, Grierson, "The Language of the Mahānayaprakāśa, p. 74.

2. कश्मीराधिपतिः कृपाजलनिधिर्विख्यातकीर्तिश्चरं  
जीव्याद् हैदराहासूनुरनघः कन्दर्पदर्पाविहः ॥

*Ibid.*

3. Vide "जगद्धरभट्ट की स्तुतिकुसुमांजलि" by Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi, *Kalyāṇa, Śivāṅka*, pp. 317-325 (reproduced from his work called *Sāhitya Sandarbha*).

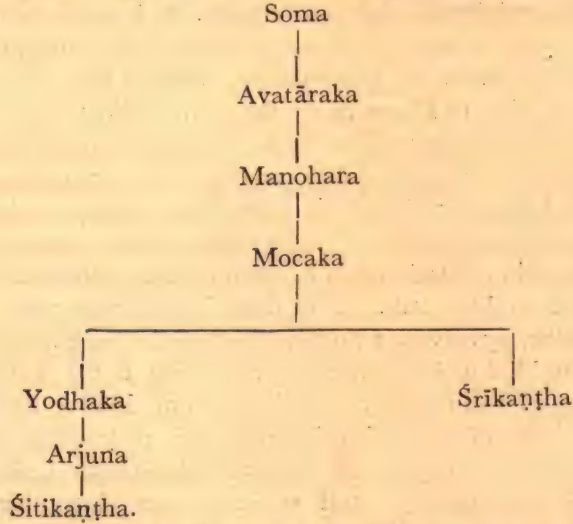
4. (Vide *Raj. T.* by Śrīvara, Chap. VI) *Ibid.*

5. *Contribution*, p. 520,

6. *Contribution*, p. 520.



side, may be roughly drawn up in this manner :—



It is also gathered that Śrīvara, perhaps the famous historian who was patronized by Sultan Zainul-Abidin, Haider Shah and Hasan Shah successively, Śrīnāśeṣa (?) and Varadeśvara were his teachers. It is, thus, obvious that preceptorially and ancestrally—on both sides—he was richly endowed with an atmosphere conducive to scholarly pursuits.

(xliii) *Ananta Śaktipāda* (1700-1750 A.D.)

The colophon of the published commentary on the *Vātulanātha-sūtra* attributes it to some Anantaśaktipāda.<sup>1</sup> Although the tradition as recorded here belongs to the Sāhasa school and is traced to one very old preceptor of the Krama school namely, Niṣkriyānandanātha, the commentary as such is quite recent. One knows nothing about the actual author of the *Sūtras* or the commentator thereon. One of the reasons behind this ignorance lies in its total escape from the notice of other texts and scholars. This commentary, like *Chumṃāsainpradāya-prakāśa*, must be of quite late origin. In the absence of any evidence, either external and internal, it may be bracketed with the

1. समाप्तये श्रीमद्वातुलनाथसूत्रवृत्तिः । कृतिः श्रीमदनन्तशक्तिपादानाम् ।

*Chummā Sampradāya* on the basis of the similarity of contents. Since a passage from the *Chummā Sampradāya* has been quoted by Śivopādhyāya (18th century), Ananta Śaktipāda can only be placed somewhere before him.<sup>1</sup> While discussing Niṣkriyānanda some doubts in this behalf have already been expressed.

According to M.S. Kaul, the editor of the printed text, the glossator seems to have commented also upon the *Bahurūpagarbha-stotra*.<sup>2</sup> The MS. No. 1135 of 1886-92 at BORI, Poona contains the text of the *Bahurūpagarbha-stotra* with a *Vṛtti* which is bound in a single cover with the *Svacchanda Tantra*. It is not known if it is identical with one in question.

(xlv) *Bhaṭṭāraka* (1700-1750 A.D.)

Not much is known about Bhaṭṭāraka except that he was the author of the work named *Prākṛtatrimśikā-vivaraṇa*. The frequent discussion on the nature of the Vṛndacakra was the main feature of the book<sup>3</sup>—this is all that Śivopādhyāya tells us. The fact that the text primarily deals with the Vṛndacakra is enough to prove that it was a Krama text. From the pattern of the title of the text, it may be conjured up that it was probably an exposition of some text in Pākṛta language modelled on the pattern of the *Parā Trimśikā* in Sanskrit. Since it is from Śivopādhyāya's reference that one comes to know of him, he may be tentatively placed prior to Śivopādhyāya who is assigned to the period 1725-1775 A.D.

(xlv) *Śivopādhyāya* (1725-1775 A.D.)

With him the Krama system finally comes to a full stop. He is not primarily a Krama author, yet the reason for present temptation to include him among the Krama authors lies in his ingenious remarks that he has never failed to make about the intricacies of the Krama system, whenever he could seize an opportunity to do so throughout his *Vivṛti* on the *Vijñāna-*

1. *V.Bh.V.*, p. 67.

2. *V.N.S.*, Foreword, p. 2.

3. वृन्दचक्रनिर्णयस्तु बहुधा भट्टारककृतप्राकृतत्रिंशकाविवरणे विचार्य इत्यलम् ।

*V.Bh.V.*, p. 69.



*bhairava*.<sup>1</sup> In depth, subtlety and maturity, he sometimes reminds us of the best masters and presupposes a little bit of acquaintance with the system on the part of the reader. It will be amply borne out in the philosophical portion of the present work.

His erstwhile printed work, the *Vivṛti*, is an attempt to restore to posterity the commentary of Kṣemarāja that was irreparably lost even in his time. It was available only upto the 23rd verse.<sup>2</sup> In continuing the venture he closely draws on Kṣemarāja as is evinced by the fact that he attributes *Spanda-Kārikās* to Vasugupta and not to Kallaṭa.<sup>3</sup> By now one is fully conversant with the significance that this controversy assumed in the realms of Kashmir Śaivism. But at the same time he points out the omissions of Kṣemarāja and throws veiled hint of the improvement brought about by him.<sup>4</sup>

His only other known work, the *Śrīvidyāvivarana* pertaining to the Tripurā system—is extant today only in manuscript. One of the available manuscript entitled *Śrīvidyāvivarana* belongs to Pt. Dīnānātha Yakṣa of Kashmir, whereas the other named *Mantrarāja* to BORI, Poona, which is bound with other MSS numbering 452, 481 and 482 of 1875-76. It is not numbered and has been described as “fragment Mantraśāstriyo granthaḥ.” The book seems to be complete work although the last few words are missing.

Some of his whereabouts have come down to us. In the end of his commentary on the *Viññānabhairava*, he gives out his name as Śivaguṇī, Gotra as Kauśika and suggests the necessary accompaniments of his name with the Jāti-title “Upādhyāya”.<sup>5</sup>

1. *V.Bh V.*, pp. 47, 50-52, 58, 66-69, 85-86, 95-97, 104-111, 115, 140 etc.

2. श्रुतं देव मयेत्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थबन्धनम् ।

ऊर्ध्वं प्राणादिपदान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥

*V.Bh V.*, p. 143.

3. यदुक्तं वसुगुप्तपादैः ‘एकचिन्ताप्रसक्तस्य.....तमुपलभयेत्’ ।

*Ibid.*, p. 84.

4. तद् राति-वाति-क्रियायुगलाथौ द्वितीयपादोक्तः क्षेमराजादिभिः न चेतितो यतो विज्ञानोद्योतमङ्गलश्लोकप्रारम्भे भरणार्थ एव प्रकटीकृतः ।

*Ibid.*, p. 115.

5. विज्ञानतन्त्रविवृतिः कृतसंग्रहेयं वृत्त्यन्तरात्स्वचिदपि स्वमतेर्विलासात् ।

नाम्ना शिवेतिगुणकौशिकगोत्रजात्योपाध्यायशब्दयुतयाप्युपलक्षितेन ॥

*V.Bh.V.*, p. 143.

He was also known as Śiva-Svāmin, but the Jāti-title Upādhyāya always formed the part of his name—this one learns from the concluding verse of the *Śrīvidyā-vivaraṇa*. It was a commentary on a Tripurā text called *Mantrarāja* pertaining to the Saubhāgya school. He belonged to Kāṣṭhūla province of Kashmir which, though escaping a definite identification, was a village or township on the banks of Jhelam (Vitastā)<sup>1</sup>. The colophon of the MS also gives the name of his father as Prakāśopādhyāyasvāmin and also the other title of his commentary as *Anubhavabodha-vidyā*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the colophon of the *Vivṛti* tells us that he was the pupil of some Sundarakaṇṭha who was probably famous as Govindaguru or the teacher of Govinda.<sup>3</sup>

In this connection it is quite interesting to know the real psychology behind his unusual insistence on the Jāti-title Upādhyāya. In his time the Jāti-title Upādhyāya carried a special social recognition. He alone could lay claim to the membership of the Upādhyāya class (or Pādipī in the spoken language) who could teach respective systems to their followers distinguished by their respective surnames as the Trika, Kaula and Bhaṭṭa. In the local dialect the first and third were known as the Tikī, and Rainā or Rājāna respectively. Those who concentrated on the

1. आशमाद्रेश्चरुदूरादिविपिनमिलितः श्वेतगंगावगाहात्-  
पूतस्वान्तेन काश्मीरिकविबुधशिवस्वाम्युपाध्यायनाम्ना ।  
व्याख्यातो मन्त्रराजः प्रकटविमलसत्सम्प्रदायः परायाः  
श्रीविद्याया गभीरो हरिहरदिवसे शिष्यबोधार्थमेव ॥  
यस्मिन्नेकद पार्श्वे बहति परनदी श्रीचित्तेति गीता  
पार्श्वेऽयस्मिन्नुमाचूचुकसरणिगलद्दुग्धधारा नदी च ।  
तस्मिन् काण्डूलदेशे विरचितवसतिर्लब्धवर्णः शिवाख्यो  
व्याख्यातुः सौभाग्यविद्यामभिमतफलदां जात्युपाध्यायशब्दः ॥

(MS. of Pt. Yakṣa)

2. इतिश्रीविद्याविवरणम् अनुभवबोध-विद्याख्यं कृतिः प्रकाशोपाध्यायस्वामिपुत्रशिवोपाध्याय-  
स्वामिनः ।

*Ibid.*

3. कृतिः श्रीमद्गोविन्दगुरुमुन्दरकण्ठपादपदानुजीविनः शिवोपाध्यायस्य इति शिवम् ॥

*V.Bh.V.*, p. 144.



Trika system were called Tiki; those who were dedicated to the performance of the Kaula rituals and the study of the *Kula sūtra* were called Kaula; and, those who belonged to the higher strata among the Brahmins and claimed highest accomplishments with their proficiency in the science of Mantras were called Rainā or Rājāna. Naturally, Śivopādhyāya is fully justified in his extra emphasis on the class-title, because it reflected his still higher social status and superb intellectual achievement.<sup>1</sup>

His time is almost certain. According to him, he completed his commentary on the *Vijñāna-bhairava* when Kashmir was being ruled by King Sukha-Jivana.<sup>2</sup> According to historians king Sukhajivana reigned over Kashmir from 1754 to 1762 A.D. Hence he may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 18th century.<sup>3</sup>

6. *Certain Krama works by anonymous authors including exclusive Krama Āgamas*

Really speaking these works which are proposed to be taken up presently did not require a separate section. They should have been dealt with in the preceding section, but for the reasons specified below. Presently the main intention is to take a brief notice of those works whose authorship, for various factors, is not known today. And consequently their exact chronological position is also a matter of speculation. In the last section a special endeavour was made to maintain a chronological continuity to the fullest possible extent. Perhaps that continuity would be difficult to maintain, if these works of unknown whereabouts were also included therein.

1. एवं त्रिकार्यतत्त्वं ये विमृशन्ति बुद्धास्सदा । ते व्याख्याता द्विजा भूमौ त्रिकजातीयसंज्ञया ॥  
तिकी इत्यद्यापि अपभाषन्ते, त्रिककौलादिभट्टानां तत्तच्छास्त्रार्थबोधने गुरवो ये समुद्दिष्टास्ते ह्युपाध्यायजातयः तान् पादिषी इत्यपभाषन्ते त्रिकाः, कुलमानप्रतिष्ठानात् कुलपूजारताश्च ये । ते कौला भुवि विख्याताः कुलसूत्रप्रपाठकाः ॥ महाब्राह्मणजातिर्या सोद्दिष्टा भट्टसंज्ञका । सर्वोत्कृष्टप्रबोधस्था भट्टास्ते पंडिताः स्मृताः ॥ मंत्रप्रयोगकुशला राजान इतीरिताः रैन इत्यपभाषन्ते तान् जनाः इत्यादिजातिनिर्णयविस्तारसंहितासु द्रष्टव्यम् ।

MS, BORI, folio. 10a.

2. सुखजीवनाभिधाने रक्षति काश्मीरमंडलं नृपतौ ।  
अगमनिःशेषत्वं विज्ञानोद्योतसंग्रहः सुगमः ॥

V. Bh. V., p. 144.

3. *Kashmir through the Ages*, G.L. Kaul, p. 63.

In this section we have two types of literature. The first type consists of the revealed i.e., Āgamic literature and the second includes the works of human authorship. In the first category there are again two subtypes. One pertains to the Āgamic Śaiva literature of Kashmir in general which every system of the Kashmir Śaivism feels impelled to draw upon, and which in its deliberations anticipates many Krama doctrines. The other relates to the exclusive Krama Āgamas that are mainly responsible for the rise of divergent traditions with regard to the important Krama theses. Owing to the enormity of the literature of the first type it is not possible to discuss them here, more so in view of their having been resorted to wherever called for in the philosophical part of the thesis. This category includes such esteemed āgamas as the *Mālinivijaya*, *Sarvajñānottara*, *Brahmayāmala*, *Tantrarāja* and *Kiraṇāgama*, etc. etc. The other type comprises the Krama āgamas alone. They are but a few in number and the relevance of introducing them need not be questioned. The next category of works includes the works of human origin and though their names are known from references, their authors are not known and the texts are not extant. In view of the importance attached to them in the system, a reference to them seems justified. It is proposed to take up the āgamas first and then, the other works.

(a) *The Krama Āgamas*

Before the discussion of the individual āgamas is embarked upon, it may be noted that the Krama āgamas as such are of a comparatively later date than their counterparts in the general field. In this connection it is also interesting to note that they generally belong to the 'Nigama' class of the tantric classification. 'Āgama' refers to that class of scriptural literature which is addressed to Pārvatī by Śiva, while 'Nigama' is said to refer to works spoken by Pārvatī to Śiva.<sup>1</sup> The

1. आगतं शिववक्त्रेभ्यो गतं च गिरिजानने ।  
मतं च वामुदेवस्य तस्मादागम उच्यते ॥  
निर्गतं गिरिजावक्त्राद् गतं च गिरिशश्रुती ।  
मतं च वामुदेवस्य तस्मान्निगम उच्यते ॥



majority of the Krama āgamas would fall in line with the Nigama class. In fact these two classes of āgamas in the strict Krama parlance, represent the two tendencies distinguished by their respective emphasis on the supremacy of the either of Śiva and Śakti. Let us now advert to the āgamas proper in their probable chronological order.

(i) *Pañcaśatika* or *Devīpañcaśatika*<sup>1</sup>

The *Pañcaśatika* is one of the earliest or the earliest known Krama āgama. Jayaratha explicitly tells us that this āgama was known to Somānanda.<sup>2</sup> Abhinava also seems to have referred to it.<sup>3</sup> It was also known as *Devīpañcaśatika*.<sup>4</sup> A fairly definite date can be assigned to it. Since the *Pañcaśatika* contains the name of the first four teachers of the Krama including the last one i.e., Śivānanda,<sup>5</sup> and also since it was known to Somānanda also, it may be placed somewhere in between them.

1. It has been included among "the works of Early Teachers" by Dr. Pandey, Vide *Abhi.*, pp. 471, 474. But it is not so. That it is an āgama is proved by its construction and that it was taken to be so, is established by Jayaratha's own statement. In a passage quoted from it (*T.A.V.*, iii, p. 181) Devī is the speaker and Śiva is being addressed, vide सा कला परमाकंति ज्ञेया भस्माङ्गभूषणा. For a similar passage also see p. 169. Likewise, Jayaratha is very clear on its being an Āgama. Vide येन श्रीपञ्चशतिकादौ संहारकालीशब्दव्यपदेश्या, इति तन्नाम्ना आगम उच्यते, इति दूरेण संबंधः, तदुक्तं तत्र *T.A.V.*, III, p. 166. For a similar statement of Jayaratha, also see pp. 160-161.

2. श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः ।  
*Ibid.*, p. 194.

3. ततश्च प्रागियं श्रुद्धा तथाचाभासनोत्सुका ।  
सृष्टिं कलयते देवी तन्नाम्नागम उच्यते ॥

*T.A.* 4. 148.

Jayaratha explains आगमे as श्रीपञ्चशतिकादौ ।

*T.A.V.*, III, p. 158.

4. देवीपञ्चशताशयमाश्रित्य च भूतिराजपूर्वाणाम् इत्यभिदधद्भिर्भवंद्विरेवोक्तम्...तर्हि श्रीपञ्चशतिकार्यमपि न जानीषे ।

*Ibid.*, p. 194.

5. *T.A.V.*, XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29th).

Śivānanda, the first preceptor, is ascribed to the first half of the ninth century and Somānanda is distanced from him only by two generations—that is, Somānanda belongs to the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. It is, therefore, quite likely that this āgama would have come up towards the middle of the ninth century.

Coming to the views of the *Pañcaśatika* one finds that the Rudrakālī, which signifies the nature of withdrawal with reference to the means of knowledge in Anākhyā cakra, was termed Bhadrakālī by it without any change in the meaning.<sup>1</sup> One of the important implications of Jayaratha's discussion on the *pañcaśatika* is that by including the name of Sukālī in the list, the text seems to subscribe to the thirteen-kālī theory.<sup>2</sup> This marks a sharp contrast from the *Kramastotra* which sticks to the twelve-kālī doctrine. The opponents of Jayaratha object as to how he (Jayaratha) still maintains that the *Kramastotra* follows the *Pañcaśatika*. First, Jayaratha side-tracks the issue by calling attention to the original question—whether or not the *Kramastotra* adhered to the twelve-kālī thesis<sup>3</sup>—and then, retorts that if the opponent persists in his accusation he does not even know the meaning of the *Pañcaśatika*.<sup>4</sup> However, this goes to evince amply that its tradition had suffered a great setback by the time of Jayaratha. Even its text started having variants and naturally became liable to varying interpretations. Jayaratha has cited one such instance, while referring to Ojarāja's interpretation of a portion of it.<sup>5</sup> Besides these it maintained a topsyturvy manner in Sthitikrama so as to hide the real Saṁvit-krama. In designing Pūjākrama the Krama authors rather emulated it.<sup>6</sup> Similarly it maintained the separate identity

1. *Ibid.* p. 173.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

3. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 190-91.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

5. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 197.

6. किं तु आगमे संवित्क्रमगोपनार्थम् आलूनविशीर्णतयैवमभिधानं, यथा श्रीपञ्चशतिके स्थिति-  
क्रमेऽपि, यदेव चानुसृत्य महागुरुभिः पूजाक्रमः प्रकान्तः ।

*Ibid.*, III, pp. 161-62.



of the Cakras like Sṛṣṭi and Samhāra, etc.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) *Sārdhaśatika*

The *Sārdhaśatika* is another important āgama that completely dittoes the stand taken by the *Pañcaśatika* with regard to the precise number of Kālīs in Anākhyā Cakra. And, therefore it always mentioned Sthitikālī after Sṛṣṭikālī. On the contrary, in the *Kramastotra* Rakta-kālī and not Sthitikālī is made to follow Sṛṣṭikālī. An objection is raised by the opponent as to whether it is not a clear violation of the āgamic authority.<sup>2</sup> The context makes it abundantly clear that *Sārdhaśatika*, too, was an equally authoritative Krama āgama as the *Pañcaśatika*, otherwise sanction of the same would not have been invoked on an exclusively Krama issue. The only other available reference to it has figured in a similar context.<sup>3</sup> It appears to be a fairly old āgama. On the basis of dialogue between it and the *Pañcaśatika* it may be assigned to the same period subject to future investigations in the field.

(iii) *Krama-rahasya*

The *Krama-rahasya* seems to be a minor āgama. It is referred to only once by Abhinava.<sup>4</sup> It may, therefore, be

1. तदेवमष्टनवमयोरपि चक्रयोः श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिके सृष्टिसंहारचक्रयोरिव एकैकविद्येति न कश्चिद्विरोधः ।

V.M.V., p. 71.

2. ननु सर्वत्रैवान्यत्र श्रीसृष्टिकाल्यनन्तरं श्रीस्थितिकाल्या अभिधानम् यदुक्तं श्रीसार्धशतिके '...इति । तत्कथमिह तदनन्तरं श्रीरक्तकाल्यादिनिर्देशः कृतः, एवं हि आगमविरोधः स्यात् । अन्यत्र here means "texts other than the *Kramastotra*".

T.A.V., III, p. 161.

3. ननु क्रमदर्शने सर्वत्रैव श्रीसृष्ट्यादिदेवीनां मध्ये श्रीसुकाल्या भगवत्या अभिधानं, येन अनाद्यचक्रे त्रयोदश देव्यः...तदुक्तं श्रीपञ्चशतिके...। श्रीसार्धशतिकं तु समनन्तरमेव संवादितम् ।

Ibid., p. 189.

4. एवमस्य प्राधान्येऽपि अवान्तरवस्त्वपेक्षया शास्त्रान्तरेऽन्यदपि किञ्चित् प्रधानतयोक्तमित्याह—

श्रीमत्क्रमरहस्ये च न्यूरुपि परमेशिना ।

अर्धपात्रं यागघाम दीप इत्युच्यते त्रयम् ॥

T.A. 29. 14.

(T.A.V., XI, p. 14, Ah. 29)

concluded that this āgama may not be as old as the *Pañcaśatika*, but its antiquity does go beyond Abhinava. Abhinava quotes it in a Kula context in order to show how the emphases vary from system to system. In Kula rituals wine is said to be of utmost importance. But, the *Krama-rahasya* is represented to hold the other view and, instead, attaches the supreme importance to the trio of Arghapātra, Yāgadhāma and Dīpa. Now which else can this other system be? Obviously it ought to be Krama as is suggested by the very nomenclature of the text. That it belonged to the āgama's category is confirmed by the fact that it was the Lord Himself who expounded this view in the *Krama-rahasya*. Perhaps, it mainly concentrated on the ritualistic part of the system.

(iv) *Kramasadbhāva*

The *Krama-sadbhāva* is again an āgama of the Nigama type, because it is in the form of a dialogue between Pārvatī and Śiva.<sup>1</sup> Authors of the rank and file of Abhinavagupta, Jayaratha, Maheśvarānanda and Śitikanṭhācārya have referred to it.

It was possibly known as *Krama* also. While reasoning out the necessity of the removal of doubt, Abhinava looks up to the āgamas as well. Among the other āgamas the name of the *Krama* also appears.<sup>2</sup> Jayaratha's immediate interpretation of the word is in terms of the Krama philosophy, but soon after he quotes from each āgama at issue and it is the *Krama-*

1. कालोत्थिता महादेव सानन्दा नन्दिनी शिवा ।

*T.A.V.*, III, p. 190.

The address "Mahādeva" may be noted. Vide also

पुरा यत्कथितं देव पञ्चबाह्ममहाक्रमम् ॥

*M.M.P.*, p. 108.

2. न चात्र युक्तिरेवास्ति यावदागमोऽपीत्याह--

श्रीसर्वाचारवीरालीनिशाचारक्रमादिषु ॥

शास्त्रेषु विततं चैतत् तत्र तन्नोच्यते यतः ।

*T.A.*, 12. 23-24.

क्रमः क्रमदर्शनम्, .....

*T.A.V.*, VII, p. 106. (Ah. 12).



*sadbhāva* which is quoted for the *Krama*.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be conclusively established, because elsewhere also Jayaratha refers to the *Krama Sadbhāva* as *Kramabhaṭṭāraka*, the title *bhaṭṭāraka* being only an honorific one.<sup>2</sup> This is further confirmed by his reference to *Krama Sadbhāva* as the *Kramasadbhāvabhaṭṭāraka*.<sup>3</sup> It is thus certain that Abhinava by the name *Krama* means the *Kramasadbhāva*. Consequently this āgama, too, belongs to the period preceding Abhinava.

By the time of Jayaratha, people appear to have lost direct touch with the text. Evidently some confusion prevailed in respect of its actual stand on the number of Kālīs to be adored in Anākhyā-cakra. At one place, while invoking its authority in support of the Śoḍaśāra Cakra Jayaratha takes their number to be sixteen,<sup>4</sup> while at other place the statement ascribed to it recognizes their number to be seventeen.<sup>5</sup> Due to the unity of their source it is difficult to know today what its actual stand was. Yet, it is sure that it did not agree with the projected number of the deities at twelve or thirteen. Despite the controversy with regard to the real allegiance of the *Kramastotra*, there is no doubt that the *Kramastotra* took a different line from that of the *Kramasadbhāva*. The view, therefore, that the *Stotrakāra* closely followed this āgama is erroneous and misleading.<sup>6</sup> It coined a few phrases to describe

1. तत्रत्यमेव ग्रन्थैकदेशमुदाहरति..... । श्रीक्रमसद्भावेऽपि—‘शंकाशून्यो भवेत्सदा’ इति ।  
Ibid., 106-107.

2. श्रीक्रमभट्टारकादौ स्थितिनाशकालीशब्दव्यपदेश्येत्यर्थः, यदुक्तं तत्र—।  
Ibid., III, p. 163.

3. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके खट्वालीति व्यपदिष्टेत्यर्थः ।  
Ibid., p. 173; also see p. 190.

4. यदभिप्रायेणैव श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके अनाख्यचक्रे षोडशैव देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्तः ।  
T.A.V., III p. 136.

5. यतः श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके अनाख्यचक्रे सप्तदश देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्ताः, यदुक्तं तत्र..... ।  
Ibid., p. 190.

6. अतएव च एतदाशयेन च श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः, इति न ग्राह्यम्—।  
Ibid., p. 191.

certain deities. Thus Sthitikālī is termed as Sthiti-nāśakālī<sup>1</sup> and Bhadrakālī as Rudrakālī.<sup>2</sup>

According to Śitikanṭha, the *Kramasadbhāva* discussed Vṛnda Cakra in detail.<sup>3</sup> This is borne out by at least one passage, cited from it by Maheśvarānanda, that deals with the Pātakrama under Vṛndacakra.<sup>4</sup> The *Krama Sadbhāva* is quoted again in support of his view that the order of the five functions of the Absolute, in which they ought to be worshipped, begins with Creation and ends with Bhāsā.<sup>5</sup> A few minor views also have been ascribed to the *Kramasadbhāva*, which are not referred to here.<sup>6</sup>

(v) *Kālikākrama*

The utterances quoted from the *Kālikākrama* are marked by their genuine philosophical aptitude unnoticed in any of the āgamas discussed so far. It is the reason why Kṣemarāja<sup>7</sup> quotes so profusely from it in his *Vimarśini* on the *Śivasūtras*

1. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

2. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके रुद्रकालीति व्यपदिष्टा ।

*Ibid.*, p. 173.

3. स च वृन्दक्रमः क्रमसद्भावे सविस्तरमुपदिष्टः ।

*M.P.(S)*, p. 86.

4. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे—

ज्ञानं सृष्टिं विजानीयात् स्थितिर्मन्त्रः प्रकीर्तितः ।

संहारं तु महाकालमेलापं परमं विदुः ॥

अनाख्यं शक्तिरूपं तु भासाख्यं शम्भुरूपकम् ।

पञ्चप्रकारमेतद्धि विज्ञेयं तत्त्वदर्शभिः ॥

*M.M.P.*, p. 97.

5. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे—

तेषां मध्यात् क्रमेणैव आदौ पूज्यस्तु कः क्रमः ।

तन्मे कथय सुश्रोणि विस्तरेण यथाविधि ॥

इति प्रश्नानन्तरम्—

पुरा यत्कथितं देव पञ्चबाह्महाक्रमम् ।

तेषां तु क्रमराजानां सृष्टिरूपोऽग्रतः सदा ॥

ततस्तु स्थितिसंहारमनाख्यं च ततः परम् ।

भासाख्यं च ततः पश्चाद् पूजयेदक्रमक्रमम् ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 108.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 101.

7. *S.S.Vi.*, pp. III, 113, 118, 119, 120, 123, 133, 139.



and the later authors do not, except for one identical passage.<sup>1</sup> Because with the passage of time real philosophical zeal started to simmer down among the Krama authors. Among the later authors are included Yogarāja, Śivānanda (the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*), Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda. The work also passed in the name of the *Devikākrama*. For, while quoting the same passage as hinted above, Maheśvarānanda attributes it to the *Devikākrama*.<sup>2</sup>

The very first look at the extracts conveys the impression of their being from some philosophical treatise and not from an Āgama. But a passage cited from it by Kṣemarāja<sup>3</sup> leaves no scope for doubting its agamic character. In this extract the work is said to be of divine origin, that is, the philosophical truths herein are revealed by Bhairava.

Coming to its time some broad outlines may be indicated. Till Abhinava there is no trace of the work; it is learnt from Kṣemarāja for the first time. Since Kṣemarāja claims to have received all his knowledge from Abhinava, it may be surmised that Abhinava at least knew of it. Even otherwise, the text might be contemporaneous with or slightly later than Abhinava, because one has already seen that *Vimarśinī* is the last work of Kṣemarāja.

As to its philosophical contents, one may begin with the most famous passage to which attention has been drawn. As its first premise it declares the entire manifold—whether internal or external—to be of the nature of pure awareness. It is awareness that assumes the form of respective objects.

1. तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं बहिरस्तः प्रकाशते ।

ज्ञानादृते नार्यसत्ता ज्ञानरूपं ततो जगत् ॥

नहि ज्ञानादृते भावाः केनचिद्विषयीकृताः ।

ज्ञानं तदात्मतां यातमेतस्मादवसीयते ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 390; P.S.V., p. 90; M.M.P., p. 10.

2. तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं..... अवसीयते ॥ इति श्रीदेविकाक्रमस्थित्याः...

M.M.P., p. 10.

3. तथा च श्रीकालिकाक्रमे

तस्मान्मित्यमसंदिग्धं बुद्ध्वा योगं गुरोर्मुखात् ।

अविकल्पेन भावेन भावयेत्तन्मयत्वतः ॥

यावत् तत्समतां याति भगवान् भैरवोऽब्रवीत् । इति

S.S.Vi, p. 111.

Nobody has even visualised the objective world unless it has become a fact of his experience. Since awareness does not proceed without its object, just as affirmation is meaningless without negation; and, since the two are always simultaneously realised, the awareness and its object are bound to be one in essence. It is why the Krama system views the objective variety as an expression of the Absolutic dynamism.<sup>1</sup>

In another similarly popular passage it draws one's attention to the nature of the Absolute as supreme awareness and that of its power, called *Vimarśa*, as omniscience. In fact the two cannot be visualised analytically. Thus the process of Japa, if undertaken by a yogin, transpires to be self-reflection on the self-divinity.<sup>2</sup> In a similar strain it is insisted upon that one, who could realize knowledge—without its referent and—as consisting in self-consciousness, achieves true freedom even during the embodied span of life.<sup>3</sup> Ignorance and knowledge, both being the manifestations of the ultimate reality, the talk of destruction of either is meaningless. Because, even when the interplay of nescience is said to have been eliminated, the real nature of it remains intact. To talk of rise and annihilation of nescience is the sheer luxury of figurative language. The only cure, therefore, by implication, lies in appreciating the

1. कालिकाक्रमेऽपि

तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं ... अवसीयते ॥  
अस्तिनास्तिविभागेन निषेधविधियोगतः ।  
ज्ञानात्मता ज्ञेयनिष्ठा भावानां भावनावलात् ॥  
युगपद्वेदनाज्ज्ञानज्ञेययोरेकरूपता ॥ इति ।

S.S.Vi, p. 118.

2. तस्य देवातिदेवस्य परबोधस्वरूपिणः ।

विमर्शः परमा शक्तिः सर्वज्ञा ज्ञानशालिनी ॥  
इति श्रीकालिकाक्रमनिरूपितरीत्या ... स्वात्मदेवताविमर्शनिवृत्तावर्तनात्मा जपो जायते ।

S.S.Vi, p. 113; also see p. 139.

Vide also T.A.V., III, pp. 187, 387.

3. अतएव श्रीकालिकाक्रमे...

तथा सर्वं शुद्धं निरालंबं ज्ञानं स्वप्रत्ययात्मकम् ।  
यः पश्यति स मुक्तात्मा जीवन्नेव न संशयः ॥

Ibid., p. 119.



basically Absolutic character of the two.<sup>1</sup> Thus the experience of pleasure and pain is a necessary outcome of the enormous mental construction. A yogin is advised to pierce through this great illusion of duality so as to attain the real fruit of the yoga.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the entire objective paraphernalia beginning with the categories of the pure order such as Śiva etc. is the logical corollary of the loss of knowledge coupled with the rise of mental constructions. And all the good or bad objects stem from the same. What one calls evil, leads one to pain and hell because of its character as sheer intellectual fabrication.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, imperative for one to eliminate all the empirical as well as imaginary associations (Vṛtti), to rest on the inner plane, to relinquish the empirical network of mental constructs through one's monistic attitude, and then to remain self-composed and ever prepared to kill the element of time, if he cares to reach the highest stage of his existence consisting in freedom. Such a view needs no explanation. Because, just as in one's daily life the objects of a dream are no longer perceptible when the person is awake, in the same way the world ceases to figure in the yogin's perception when he views

1. यदुक्तं तत्रैव—

नाशेऽविद्याप्रपञ्चस्य स्वभावे न विनश्यति ।  
उत्पत्तिध्वंसविरहात्स्मान्नाशो न वास्तवः ॥  
यतोऽविद्यासमुत्पत्तिध्वंसाभ्यामुपचर्यते ।  
यत्स्वभावेन नष्टं न तन्नष्टं कथमुच्यते ॥ इति ।

*Ibid.*, p. 120.

2. तदुक्तं श्रीकालिकाक्रमे—

सुखदुःखादिविज्ञानविकल्पानल्पकल्पितम् ।  
भित्त्वा द्वैतमहामोहं योगी योगफलं लभेत् ॥

*S.S.Vi.*, p. 123.

3. तदुक्तं तत्रैव—

यदविद्यावृत्ततया विकल्पविधियोगतः ।  
शिवादीन् नैव क्षण्टिं समुद्भावयतेऽखिलान् ॥  
ततः शुभाशुभाः भावा लक्ष्यन्ते तद्वशात्त्वतः ।  
अशुभेभ्यश्च भावेभ्यः परं दुःखं प्रजायते ॥ इति

*Ibid.*, p. 123; also see, p. 131.

it through Bhāvanā i.e. identifying it with the universal self.<sup>1</sup>

This was of course a Krama text as the above deliberations would show, in addition to the suggestivity of the title.

(vi) *Krama-siddhi*

The *Kramasiddhi* is an āgama of a later origin. It is difficult to ascertain its exact period but it was known to none of Abhinava, Kṣemarāja and Jayaratha. Throughout the history of the Krama thought it is Maheśvarānanda alone who draws our attention to it.<sup>2</sup> It, therefore, appears likely that the work did not come into light until the lapse of the 11th century.

The lower limit may further be stretched upto the time of Jayaratha. It may also interest one to note that even in later Krama or other tantric literature one does not hear of this work. It, therefore, must have been a minor work. It chose the form of a dialogue between two—the God and the Goddess. But it is doubtful who really played the role of teacher and who that of disciple. Because, of all the four extracts cited by Maheśvarānanda only two have some bearing on this point. In one Śiva is addressed by Devī who imparts to him the secrets of the Saṁvitkrama.<sup>3</sup> whereas in the other Śiva is approached by Devī and he tells her the esoteric

1. यदुक्तं तत्रैव—

यथा स्वप्नानुभूतार्थान्प्रबुद्धो नैव पश्यति ।  
तथा भावनया योगी संसारं नैव पश्यति ॥ इति । तथा  
निरस्य सदसद्वृत्तीः संश्रित्य पदमान्तरम् ।  
विहाय कल्पनाजालमद्वैतेन परापरम् ।  
यः स्वात्मनिरतो नित्यं कालप्रासैकतत्परः ।  
कैवल्यपदभाग्योगी स निर्वाणपदं लभेत् ॥ इति ।

S.S.Vi., pp. 133-34.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 89, 97, 101, 109.

3. यद्युक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—

संवित्क्रमं देव शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुन्दर ।

*M.M.P.*, p. 97.



significance of the word Krama.<sup>1</sup> The obvious conclusion seems to be that this āgama adopted a midway course and alternately subscribed to both the tendencies about the concept of the Absolute in the Krama system.

Certain other views, beside those described above, have come down to us. There were varying opinions about the precise order of the five flows (Pañcavāha) of the Universal Energy. The order followed by Maheśvarānanda was the one laid down by the *Kramasiddhi*.<sup>2</sup> The question has been fully considered in connection with this study on the Pañcavāha. In another passage, the *Kramasiddhi* is represented to have prescribed a specific type of the Pātakrama. The Pātakrama is one of the constituents of the eightfold approach to the Vṛnda Cakra. The Pāta consists in finding out the basic identity between Pañcavāha and Vṛndacakra. But the same may be found to consist in the identity between the five siddhas namely, Jñānasiddhas etc., and the five Absolutic functions ranging from Sṛṣṭi to Bhāṣā.<sup>3</sup>

He also explains the logic behind naming a particular power. It is to be recalled that in each of the five powers (Sṛṣṭi etc.) all the five powers are present, yet each of them is so termed as to indicate the most predominant one in the group.

1. यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—

ककारः क्रोधरूपस्तु मकारो मङ्गलो भवेत् ।  
 क्रोधे तु मङ्गलं कुर्यात् क्रमः कालक्रमो भवेत् ॥  
 गुर्वाद्यत्तं क्रमज्ञानमाज्ञासिद्धिकरं परम् ।  
 क्रमज्ञानान्महादेवि त्रैलोक्यं कवलीकृतम् ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 109.

2. तत्र तत्संप्रदायानुगुण्यात् तन्निरुक्तिरुक्त्या । अस्मत्क्रमस्तु निदिष्टक्रम एव । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ..... ॥

*M.M.P.*, p. 89.

3. पञ्चबाह्वृन्दचक्रयोरैकात्म्यानुसन्धानं पात इति पातप्रकारः ।  
 एवं सृष्ट्यादिक्रमेऽपि पातोऽनुसंधेयः । यथोक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—  
 सवित्क्रमं देव शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुन्दर ।  
 सृष्टिं स्थितिं च संहारानाख्याभासास्वरूपकम् ॥  
 ज्ञानमात्रं च भेलापं शाक्तं शाम्भवसंयुतम् ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 97.

A metaphor will elucidate it. The milk, though present in whole of a cow's body, drips down through her udder only. Likewise, the power of the Lord is all-pervasive and all-inclusive, yet it spreads fully through one power.<sup>1</sup>

All these concepts predominate the later phase of the Krama system. This also testifies to its recency in origin.

With this āgama one comes to the close of the Krama list of the āgamas. But this simply shows the limitations of our knowledge and information at this stage. Numerous references, made to and extracts quoted from the anonymous sources, simply labelled as the āgama,<sup>2</sup> will perhaps bear out the above statement.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that the āgamas named *Brahmayāmala*, *Tantrarāja Bhaṭṭāraka* etc., have not been included among the Krama āgamas, as has been done in certain quarters.<sup>3</sup> Because in the first place, they belong to the general category of āgamas and, in the second place, the contents of the manuscript of the *Brahmayāmala*, available in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal<sup>4</sup> and the study made by John Woodroffe of the *Tantrarāja*<sup>5</sup> do not present them as exclusive Krama āgamas. It is of course a different matter that they do contain useful material on the Krama system too, but not as the Krama system as such but as a part of the wider tantra literature. We have, therefore, not ventured to dilate on them at the moment.

(b) *Non-Āgamic Krama works*

Here again the proposed discussion will be restricted to the exclusive Krama texts.

1. तत्तद्विक्तांशोपसंग्रहात्, सृष्ट्यादीनाम् पृथग्व्यवस्था । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—  
दोहे व्याप्तं गवि क्षीरं स्तनाभ्यां प्रसृतम् यथा ।  
सर्वंगा व्यापिनी सूक्ष्मा एकस्मिन् प्रसृता शिवा ॥

*M.M.P.* p. 101.

2. *Vide*, for instance, *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 132, 171; *M.P.(S)*, p. 45 etc.
3. *Abhi.*, pp. 470-71.
4. MS No. 6392, Catalogue No. 5892, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. VIII (Tantras), Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 94-95.
5. *Tantrarāja Tantra* (A Short analysis), Sir John Woodroffe, with a Preface by Yogi Śuddhānanda Bhārati, Ganesh & Co., Madras.



(i) *Krama-Sūtra*

About the *Krama-Sūtra* certain remarks have already been made while discussing Kṣemarāja who, for the first time, invites our attention to this text. It was probably written in the Sūtra style as the title and the two extracts go to show. The most significant thing about it seems that it was originally written in the own vernacular of the author.<sup>1</sup> The necessary implication being that the Sanskrit version or rendering cited by him was done either by him or was done in his time. If this hypothesis be true, the *Krama-Sūtra* in its original form might have been an older text than Abhinava. But, in any case, it must belong to the same period as Abhinava does. This also shows that the trend of composing the Krama works in vernaculars, which later on was acknowledged to be a salient feature of the Krama literature, had its seeds in the early stages of the Krama history. The first of the two Sūtras quoted by Kṣemarāja asks the aspirant to consume the objects of the sense which act like fetters, just as the fire set ablaze consumes fuel.<sup>2</sup> The second Sūtra lays down the twofold path towards self-realization. The first, which is characterized by inwardness, is known as the Krama Mudrā. This consists in turning from the outward to the inward. The second, which is called Mudrā-krama, consists in looking from the inward to the outward, that is, in looking upon the worldly objectivity as an expansion of the inner self.<sup>3</sup> Both these types are the spontaneous outcome of Samāveśa. The second Sūtra has been commented upon by Kṣemarāja.<sup>4</sup> Maheśvarānanda also

1. तदुक्तं पूर्वगुरुभिः स्वभाषामयेषु क्रमसूत्रेषु ।

P. Hf., p. 79.

2. यथा वह्निरुदबोधितो दाह्यं दहति तथा विषयपाशान् भक्षयेत् ।

P. Hf., pp. 77-78.

3. यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेषु—

क्रमसूत्रया अंतःस्वरूपया बहिर्मुखः समाविष्टो भवति साधकः । तत्रादौ बाह्यात् अंतःप्रवेशः, आभ्यन्तरात् बाह्यस्वरूपे प्रवेशः, आवेशवशात् जायते—इति सबाह्याभ्यन्तरोऽयं मुद्राक्रमः ।

Ibid., pp. 91-92.

4. अन्नायमर्थः.....।

Ibid., pp. 92-94.

refers to the second Sūtra and quotes it together with its explanation by Kṣemarāja.<sup>1</sup> But it looks quite feasible that Maheśvarānanda did not have the actual text before him, because he does not appear to quote from the original itself but from the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* instead, which contains both the Sūtras as well as its exposition. Moreover, he does not add a word of his own to it.

(ii) *Siddhasūtra*

It is referred to only once in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (T). There were two traditions with regard to the proper order in which the various cycles were supposed to succeed one another for the purpose of worship. One of the traditions placed Anākhya-cakra immediately after Vṛnda-cakra and discarded the worship of the three cycles such as Sṛṣṭi etc. This was probably the tradition followed by Jayaratha etc. One may infer this from Jayaratha's criticism of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*'s attitude as representing opponent's tradition. The *Mahānayaprakāśa* did not agree with his view and maintained that after Vṛnda-cakra these cycles must be worshipped in order to ensure the total completion of Pūjana that results in acquisition of the tremendous capacity. In this context the *Siddha-Sūtra* is quoted in support.<sup>2</sup> It holds that the worship of all these cakras leads to the attainment of the Khecara state. And as a secondary outcome of the self-knowledge one is able to command the Siddhis like Aṇimā etc. on their own accord.

In this connection it is to be specially noted that Śitikanṭha also refers to the *Subhāṣita* (pithy or noble sayings) of some Siddha.<sup>3</sup> He has quoted some Siddhapāda earlier. Both,

1. यदुक्तं श्रीक्रमसूत्रेषु—बाह्यादन्तःप्रवेशः आभ्यन्तराद्वा बाह्यस्वरूपानुप्रवेशः इति । यथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन.....।

M.M.P., p. 166.

2. अस्मन्मतेऽपि तदपि परिपूर्णार्थमिष्यते ।

एतत्समारुढिवशात् प्रभावो हि प्रवर्तते ॥

पूजनात् खेचरत्वं हि सिद्धसूत्रेषु गण्यते ।

आत्मज्ञानात् प्रवर्तन्ते यथेच्छमणिमादयः ॥

M.P. (T), 8.26, 28.

3. तथा च सिद्धस्य सुभाषितम्—पिथिव आपाता तेज उकाहस ।

M.P. (S), pp. 59-60; also see p. 32.



however, appear to be one, owing to the identity of the extracts attributed to them. It is not known if the *Siddha-sūtras* have to do anything with the *Siddha-subhāṣitas*, if one is permitted to present them in this way. The only hurdle seems to be the language. Because, the *Subhāṣitas* have been composed in Prākṛta, whereas the *Siddhasūtra* is apparently a Sanskrit work. However, this is left out as an unsettled question.

The work, in question, belongs to a later date. Śivānanda II, the author of *Mahānayaṣprakāśa* (T) is assigned to the second and third quarter of the twelfth century. The work, therefore, may be assigned to a slightly earlier period.

(iii) *Mahānaya-paddhati*

It was a minor work and is referred to only once by Maheśvarānanda.<sup>1</sup> It is quoted to substantiate the contention that the external formalities amount to plain mockery. According to it, the strong and abiding reflection on the ultimate reality unobscured by anything constitutes the genuine form of worship. This is a peculiar Krama thesis. In addition, the title of the text goes to prove its Kramic complexion. It might be chronologically slightly anterior to Maheśvarānanda who alone refers to it.

(iv) *Kramodaya*

The *Kramodaya* seems to be an important work. Two extracts from it appear in the *Parimala* on the *Mahārthamañ-jari*.<sup>2</sup> Amṛtānanda in his *Yogini-hṛdayadīpikā*<sup>3</sup> refers to it twice, though citing the same passage. Bhāskarācārya in the *Setubandha*<sup>4</sup> commentary on the above also alludes to the work repeating the quotation just mentioned.

1. इत्यादिनीत्या बाह्याडम्बरः केवलं विडम्बनामात्रफलकतया पर्यवस्यति ।...तथा च श्रीमहानयपद्धतौ—

परमनिरावरणात्मनि रूपे यो हृदतरः परामर्शः ।

पूजनमेतदित्यर्थं प्रभुणा निरणायि यद्यपि प्रकृतम् ॥

M.M.P., pp. 111-12.

2. M.M.P., pp. 50, 87.

3. Y.H.D., pp. 266, 283.

4. Y.H.S.B., pp. 286.

Its main accent seems to have been ritualistic. However, in one passage it refers to the five limiting conditions of the individual subject as such as Rāga, Kalā etc., due to which the universal self appears as personal self.<sup>1</sup> In the other, he calls upon the aspirant to perform Dūtī-yāga before he embarks upon the worship of nine powers stationed in the body.<sup>2</sup> The stress on ritualism was so predominant that fivefold esoteric worship (Pañcamakāra) seems to have overshadowed other things. Like sex in the former, wine occupies a place of eminence in yet another extract. According to it once the liquor, which is a sort of final oblation (Pūrṇāhuti) and is defined by harmony of 'I' and 'this' experience, gets in, it obliterates the duality; and the resulting pleasure comes to persist even though there is visibly no object to cause pleasure.<sup>3</sup> Hence, it is meant to suggest that one should worship the external cycles only when one's mind has become stable and poised.

In this connection an important point deserves careful attention. The verse quoted by Amṛtānanda and Bhāskara-rāya

1. तदुक्तं श्रीक्रमोदये—

रागो माया कला विद्या नियतिः काल एव च ।  
पञ्चवृत्त्याश्रयाः सर्वे पाशाश्चेति प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

M.M.P., p. 50.

2. एवं पीठपरामर्शस्य प्राधान्यं द्योतयितुं ह्यादौ द्वतीयजनमारम्भणीयतयोद्भाव्यते । यथा श्रीक्रमोदये—

स्त्रियः सर्वेषु वर्गेषु योगिन्यः स्युर्न संशयः ।  
देहवद् योनिशुद्धिस्तु आत्मबल्लिङ्गशोधनम् ॥  
योनी नवाक्षरी न्यस्य लिङ्गे सप्तदशाक्षरीम् ।  
गुरुवक्त्रस्य पूजार्थं कुर्याद् योगिनिमेलनम् ॥  
नवाक्षर्या तु मंत्रेण स्थापयेत्लिङ्गपीठवत् ।  
शिवशक्त्यात्मभावेन पुरुषो मन्यकः स्मृतः ॥  
मन्ययेदात्मनः शक्तिं मधुबच्चकुलशोणितम् ।

M.M.P., p. 87.

3. मन्तारणिमथनसम्भूतं इदन्ताहुन्तासामरस्यरूपं मद्यरूपं घृतपूर्णद्विति बहुशो हुत्वा परिस्फुर-  
त्परमानन्दो भवेदित्यान्तरपूर्णद्वितिः । अतएव—

प्रविष्टेऽन्तः सिन्धुरसे भेदनिर्हृत्पात्मके ।  
सर्वैर्यमेति चमत्कारं विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥ इति

क्रमोदयोक्तरीत्या मनसि स्थिरीभूते बाह्यचक्रार्चनं कुर्यादित्याह — ।

Y.H.D., p. 266; also see, pp. 283, 286.



also occurs with little modification in the *Mahānayaprakāśa*(T).<sup>1</sup> It forms part of the text and there is absolutely no hint of its having been borrowed from some other source. The first ever mention of the *Kramodaya* which finds in Maheśvarānanda and Amṛtānanda is not far away from him, hence the *Kramodaya* does not seem to be an old text. Maheśvarānanda also refers to the *Mahānayaprakāśa*. That means the two were different works. Now the question is which is the borrower. The whole situation is confusing. The answer depends upon another question—which work is earlier? If the *Kramodaya* is earlier the *Mahānayaprakāśa* must have borrowed from it, and if later, the *Kramodaya* must be the borrower. But, since (i) Śivānanda II. the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, belongs to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century, (ii) the *Kramodaya* is earliest referred to towards the close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, and (iii) the verse in question is a part of the text and fits well in the context and conforms to the construction of the text, one may be tempted, for the time-being, to conclude that it is *Kramodaya* which appears to have borrowed from the *Mahānayaprakāśa*(T).

(v) *Amāvasyātrīṃśikā*

The *Amāvasyātrīṃśikā* seems to be an important text of the age of decadence. It was produced during the lull between Maheśvarānanda and Śitikanṭha who refers to it.<sup>2</sup> What was the real purport behind such nomenclature is a matter of guess today. Either it contained thirty verses or, like the *Parātrīṃśikā*, dealt with the three Absolutic powers. Śitikanṭha has elsewhere quoted a verse bringing out the etymological meaning of the word *Amāvasyā*.<sup>3</sup> The verse is self-explanatory. What is important to note in this connection is that Rāmyadeva describes

1. प्रविष्टेऽन्तः शीघुर (सं?से) भेदनिर्हृणात्मके ।  
स्वयंयमेति चमत्कारो विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥

*M.P.(T)*, 9.43

2. *M.P.(S)*. pp. 9, 13.

3. अमा नाम रवे रश्मिर्यस्या वसति चन्द्रमाः ।

अमायां वसते यस्मादमावस्या त्वतः स्मृता ॥

*Ibid.*, p. 82.

the Krama system as the one steeped in or infused by the idea of Amāvasyā.<sup>1</sup> It, therefore, appears fairly certain to take this work as belonging to the Krama system.

This work was probably more famous as the *Saṁvāda*, because the first of the three verses quoted from the *Amāvasyā-trimśikā* has been attributed to the *Saṁvāda*.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise, *Saṁvāda* as a loose expression stands for a dialogue or discourse. A perusal of the extract reveals that the book probably owed its name to the three aspects of the ultimate power of the Lord, the three aspects being Will, Knowledge and Action. The present judgement is based on the second verse of the passage. In other words it speaks of the transcendence-plus-immanence, all-pervasiveness, infinitude, ubiquity and equanimity of the Absolute. The innate power of the Lord is all-powerful and, though one in herself, she accounts for the multiplicity by virtue of Her constituting the powers such as Will, Knowledge and Action. But this duality is nothing but functional when She is at work. Otherwise on retiring from activity, She rests in Śiva, the infinite Absolute and principle of harmony, holding these differences back in Herself.<sup>3</sup>

The esoteric idea of the Amāvasyā came into existence with reference to the Krama system with Ramyadeva who

1. शाक्तैरर्कैर्महाकालसंकषिणीकिरणैः चिद्रूपचन्द्रपीयूषरसचर्वणेन.....अमावस्यावासनावसितः कोऽपि संप्रदायः उट्टंकितः ।

B.U.V., p. 29.

2. विश्रामस्थानम् परमात्मा महार्थः । तथा चोक्तम् संवादे—  
योऽसौ परापरः शान्तः शिवः सर्वगतो महान् ।  
अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च सर्वव्यापी महेश्वरः ॥  
इति स एव महार्थनामा ।

M.P.(S), pp. 13-14.

3. तथा च अमावस्यात्रिशिकायाम्—  
योऽसौ परापरः शान्तः शिवः सर्वगतो महान् ।  
अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च व्यापी सर्वेश्वरेश्वरः ॥  
तस्यापि सहजा शक्तिः सर्वशक्तिमयी परा ।  
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्वेन सैवेका बहुधा स्थिता ॥  
तस्या उदितरूपाया ये भेदा कार्यतो गताः ।  
तानन्तस्तु समाहृत्य सामरस्ये शिवे स्थिता ॥ इति ।

M.P.(S), pp. 9-10



belongs to the first half of the 12th century. And it is referred to by Śitikaṇṭha, who flourished at the threshold of the 15th-16th century. The work, therefore, may be placed somewhere during this intervening period.

(vi) *Rājikā*

This seems to be a minor work of very late origin and has been mentioned once only by Śitikaṇṭha. As to the nature of the contents, it will suffice to say that it dealt with the real character of the great Yāga, otherwise known as Madhya-yāga also. It has three varieties namely, gross, subtle and the ultimate. In the first stage mind, intellect and ego-feeling are withdrawn in order to put an end to the emergence of mental uprisings (Cittavṛttis). In the second round the vital airs are withdrawn. Ultimately Prakṛti, the principle of pure awareness, makes an anxious present of herself to the Lord finding Him half-satiated. This is the land of unison, harmony. It is in this connection a verse is cited from the *Rājikā*.<sup>1</sup> In the *Viveka*, Jayaratha refers to certain Rahasyarājikāyoginīs who were blessed, due to the grace of Divinity, with a beatific vision and attainment of true knowledge. What one is not supposed to miss in this context is that Rājikāyoginīs have been referred to as belonging to the "different" system. Since the context is primarily occupied with the Kula system, the 'different' system means "other than the Kula". Hence, in the Kula context these Rājikāyoginīs are to be remembered only and not worshipped.<sup>2</sup> It is not known if the Rājikāyoginīs and the *Rājikā* text are correlated. This episode also lends an additional weight to the thesis that it is most likely a Krama text.

Like its predecessor it also belongs to an age prior to Śitikaṇṭha.

1. स्थूलसूक्ष्मपरस्त्रेधा मध्ययागः, सामरस्यभूषचेयम्, तथा च श्रीराजिकायाम्—

भुक्त्वा विश्वमशेषं तृप्तिं न यदागतः कुलेशानः ।

देव्या तदा स्वदेहश्चरत् निवेदितः कुलाधिपतेः ॥

इति तांश्चतुरो निवेद्य आकुलीभूता आत्मानं परावाग्रूपं समरसीभावयति इति उपहारार्थः ।

M.P. (S), p. 55.

2. श्रीरहस्यराजिकायोगिनीभिः स्वभावाद् भगवत्याः प्रसादेन दृष्टं विग्रहाज्ज्ञानं लब्धम्...। तदमूर्तत्वादिह ते केवलं स्मर्तव्या एव, न तु विशेषात् सम्पूज्याः पूर्वगुरुभिस्तथा नोपदिष्टा इत्यर्थः ।

T.A.V., XI, p. 33 (Ah. 29).

## CHAPTER VII

### KRAMA'S PLACE IN THE WIDER FRAMEWORK OF KASHMIR ŚAIVISM WITH AN EYE UPON ITS GENERAL TANTRIC CHARACTER

*A synthetic approach to correlation between basic structure  
of Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism vis-à-vis sixfold Artha  
and fourfold Upāya and its bearing on the Krama system.*

#### 1. *Overall Perspective of Synthesis between Śaiva Metaphysics and Tantricism*

Throughout all these pages an attempt has been made to point out and gauge the quantum of the contribution made by the Krama system to the cause of metaphysics and mysticism of monism against the background of its twin personalities condensed into one. These two aspects are its being a part of the philosophical complex known as Kashmir Śaivism in the first place and, at the same time, retaining the general Tantric character in the second place. In this section, therefore, our main task would be to see how this synthesis is arrived at. In other words, an effort will be made to examine the perspective in which the sixfold Tantric approach defined by the Arthas is coordinated with or corresponds to the fourfold approach of the Kashmir Śaivism spelt by the Upāyas. And in so doing the place of Krama is to be determined in this perspective.

#### 2. *Jayaratha's Consistent Approach to the Problem*

Maheśvarānanda and Jayaratha, the two savants of the Krama system, take up the issue. Maheśvarānanda regards the Mahārtha or Krama system as the ultimate among all the philosophical disciplines and the culminating point of all the



six stages of Tantric culture.<sup>1</sup> But this is hardly a scientific approach. In fact it is dismissing outright the very issue out of the doctrinal enthusiasm. Jayaratha, on the contrary, is very balanced, logical and to the point.<sup>2</sup> The subsequent observations are, therefore, drawn from him.

### 3. Sixfold Artha Defining the Six Approaches to Tantric Understanding

The six ways or approaches to the understanding of the Tantra, as outlined by the *Yoginī-hṛdaya*, are—(i) Bhāvārtha, (ii) Saṃpradāyārtha, (iii) Nigarbhārtha, (iv) Kaulikārtha, (v) Sarvarahasyārtha, and (vi) Mahātattvārtha.<sup>3</sup> All being technical concepts it is no use rendering them into the English language. Let us see what they stand for.

Jayaratha, at the very outset, cautions that the traditionalists should not look for the reproduction of the orthodox and conventional views. He is approaching them entirely from the point of view of their precise implications.<sup>4</sup> Except the methodology, he toes the line adopted by the *Yoginī-hṛdaya Tantra*.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1. योज्यं महाप्रबन्धेन उपक्रान्तो

भावार्थः सम्प्रदायार्थो निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिकः ।

तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥

इत्याम्नायस्थित्या तत्तदशेषार्थतत्त्ववैचित्र्यसमष्ट्यधिष्ठानरूपतया महान् सर्वार्थभेदप्रभेद-  
क्रोडीकारविचक्षणोऽर्थः प्राप्यं तत्त्वम्... इति ।

M.M.P., p. 183.

#### 2. V.M.V., pp. 136-140.

#### 3. भावार्थः सम्प्रदायार्थो निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिकः ।

तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥

एवमेतन्महेशानि षड्विधं पारमेश्वरम् ।

व्याख्यानं सर्वतन्त्राणां पारम्पर्येण लभ्यते ॥

(Quoted from Y.H. 2.15) V.M.V., p. 136.

#### 4. इह... इत्याद्युक्तं व्याख्यानं प्रतिपदं षोढा क्रियमाणं ग्रन्थविस्तराधानमात्रफलमिदानीं तात्पर्यमात्रगत्या उच्यते ।

V.M.V., pp. 136-137.

#### 5. यदागमः.

अक्षरार्थो हि भावार्थः केवलः परमेश्वरि ।

संप्रदायो महाबोधरूपो गुरुमुखस्थितः ।

निगर्भोऽपि महादेवि शिवगुर्वात्मगोचरः ।

कौलिकः स्वात्मसंवित्तिरात्मसंवित्तिपूर्वकः ॥

रहस्यार्थो महागुप्तस्सद्यः प्रत्ययकारकः ।

महापरमतत्त्वार्थः परमात्मवदास्थितः ॥

*Bhāvārtha* consists in the literal meaning according to the intention of the speaker at the time. It may even belong to the other sciences than the Tantra proper. The same, despite its externality, is to be regarded as *Sampradāyārtha*, if it is meant for enlightenment owing to the exposition of self-knowledge etc. The only conditions it must comply with are that it should be consistent with the Śaiva teachings and uncensured by the teachers. Vedic passages like “आत्मा वा रे जातव्यो मन्तव्यः” and “सकृद् दिभातोऽयमात्मा” furnish fine examples of the same. But there is one difficulty. The self in the above quoted passages is represented to have shone only once (*Sakṛdvibhāta*), whereas Śiva is a continuously manifest principle. Similarly, these passages depict the self as knowable (*Jñātavya*) and thus reduce it to the status of an object. Consequently it would deserve its reference as ‘this’ instead of ‘I’, while the self-luminous Śiva is always a subject, an agent. According to Jayaratha no fundamental incongruity is involved here. In fact, Śiva, the principle of reality, never forsakes its agenthood even when he manifests the objectivity within because the objective multiplicity is an expression of his unfettered freedom. Since Śiva himself becomes an object, there is no discrepancy if he is referred to by ‘this’ pronoun.<sup>1</sup> The viewing of the manifold variety as essentially one with Śiva becomes possible only when objectivity is there. It is why the third type named *Nigarbhārtha* consists in its emphasis on realisation of the internal character of multiplicity as Śiva by the pure self<sup>2</sup> which may be Śiva, the teacher, or the aspiring self. If this process is continued, a stage comes

शिवगुर्वात्मसंवादरूपेणार्थावभासकः ।

निरस्तसर्वसंकल्पविकल्पस्थितिपूर्वकः ॥

विद्यापीठनिबद्धेषु संस्थितः पिण्डासिद्धिदः ॥

Quoted from *T.H.*, *Ibid*, pp. 138-39.

1. Cp. स्वातन्त्र्यामूक्तमात्मानं स्वातन्त्र्याद्वयात्मनः ।

प्रभुरीशादिसंकल्पैर्निर्माय व्यवहारयेत् ॥

*I.P.K.*, 1.5, 16.

2. Cp. आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निवृत्तचिह्नपुः ।

अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दुक्कियः शिवः ॥

*Ś.Dr.*, 1.2.



when the Universal Self is instinctively realized as principle of self-luminous pure awareness even in our empirical and phenomenal experiences. Since the prius of such awareness is self and the same is technically known as Kula,<sup>1</sup> the fourth type passes by the name of *Kaulikārtha*.<sup>2</sup>

In the above noted stages what happens is that the emphasis is gradually shifted from 'this' to 'I'. In the first instance, the aspirant has to exert himself to realize this identity, whereas in the second this identity of the self with objectivity itself becomes a fact of experience. Here, too, once this process is rigorously pursued further, immediate self-revelation takes place—the objectivity not being identified with but transformed into pure subjectivity.<sup>3</sup> Since it is impossible for an unaccomplished layman to appreciate it, it is termed as *Rahasyārtha* (Secret meaning), the fifth type. When even this stage is transcended and pure, alogical, irrelational immediacy prevails and there being no further destiny, it is designated as *Mahā-parama-tattvārtha*,<sup>4</sup> the sixth type.

#### 4. *Synthesis between six Arthas and four Upāyas arrived at*

Now, it may be noted that the first two stages, types or approaches obviously find an analogue in the *Āṇava Upāya*<sup>5</sup> which, with the aid of external means, tries to unfold the aspirant's real nature. The extrinsic means include, *inter alia*,

1. कुलमात्मस्वरूपं तु.....।

*V.M.V.*, p. 133.

2. Cp. स्वात्मैव सर्वजन्तूनाम् एक एव महेश्वरः ।

विश्वरूपोऽहमिदमित्यखण्डामर्शबुद्धितः ॥

*I.P.K.*, 4.1.1.

3. Cp. ततः स्फुटतमोदारताद्रूप्यपरिवृत्तिः ।

संविदध्येति विमलाविकल्पस्वरूपताम् ॥

*T.A.*, 4.6.

4. Cp. तेषामिदं समाभाति सर्वतो भावमण्डलम् ।

पुरःस्थमेव संवित्तिभैरवाग्निविलापितम् ॥

*T.A.*, 2.35.

5. इदं च द्विविधमपि व्याख्यानं वर्णाद्यात्माणबीपायरूपम् ।

*V.M.V.*, p. 137.

usage of sacred syllables etc. Similarly, Nigarbhārtha and Kaulikārtha find their counterpart in the Śāktopāya<sup>1</sup> because the Śāktopāya consists in processes designed to achieve the refinement of Vikalpas (logical constructions). The purification of logical construction or dualistic consciousness, by definition, means a thorough overhauling of the perspective with reference to objectivity. In simple words, the Śāktopāya consists in realising 'this' as an expression of 'I' (Sarvo mamāyam vibhavaḥ). Yet, despite this transformation, the Vikalpa remains. The Śāktopāya elevates the relation of duality into that of unity and harmony, but the relation itself does not vanish. Therefore, then comes Śāmbhava which corresponds to the fifth type i.e., Rahasyārtha or Sarvarahasyārtha and consists in the indeterminate self-realization.<sup>2</sup> And the last stage i.e., Mahāparamatattvārtha is equalled by Anupāya which is the reality *per se*—Awareness pure and simple. In fact Śāmbhava and Anupāya are not generally distinguished because the Anupāya reflects the highest stage of the Śāmbhava. In that case the Śāmbhava would stand for both of the final types.

##### 5. Conclusion : Nigarbhārtha and Kaulikārtha Versus Śāktopāya i.e., Krama

Thus we see how the synthesis between the fundamental structure of the Kashmir Śaivism and that of the Tantra in general is brought about. It is to be noted that Krama is generally identified with Śāktopāya. Hence Śāktopāya on the one hand and Nigarbhārtha along with Kaulikārtha on the other, provide the common ground where the Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism meet. It is, however, beyond the scope of this section to go into the intricacies of the Śāktopāya etc., because the same is taken up for detailed analysis in the very first chapter of the philosophical study. These lines are, therefore, intended

1. एतदपि प्रकारद्वयं विकल्पसंस्क्रियारूपतया शाक्तोपायात्मकम् ।

*Ibid.*, p. 138.

2. रहस्यशब्दाभिहितः शाम्भवोपायात्मा पञ्चमः ।

*V.M.V.*, p. 133.

to serve as a preliminary to the following section. But for Jayaratha it would not have been possible to find out the traditional, yet logical, attitude towards the two independent literatures—Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism—which have more points of contact than those of departure.







## APPENDIX "B"

### CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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\*Actually it is Nagarajan, Nataranjan is a misprint.



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# CORRECTIONS

Page	Foot note if any	Line	For	Read
4		14	works. The fact	works. Because of the fact
23		17	word	Word
30		7	Kālinaya	Kālinaya <sup>2</sup>
39		11	tantra	Tantra
52		3	the palpitate	to palpitate
53	1	3	Sp. P., pp. 49-50	(delete)
53	2	1	Sp. P., pp. 49-50	(Add after शक्तीनाम्)
67		2	to divergent	to excite divergent
70		16	etc. <sup>4</sup> In	etc. <sup>4</sup> in
72	4	1	cf. fn. I, p. 55 supra	Cf. fn. 2 supra
96		18	1149 A.D.	1155 A.D.
104		11	1000 A.D.	1020 A.D.
109	1	1	Sp. K.	S.S.
112		20	960	950
114	3	3	I.P.V., III, p. 312	I.P.V.V., II, p. 312
122		22	—	(Add after 'different' :) "Moreover the 2nd Eraka is referred to as father of some Vāmanātha while the first one kept celibate throughout his life. As such, their identity appears quite remote." p. 121 complete text Sārdhaśatika work it is difficult to single out works pronouncements <sup>8</sup> claim. In the last verse of his Spanda Sandoha <sup>1</sup>
122	3	1	p. 1:1	p. 121
132		29	incomplete texts	complete text
143		20	Sārdhaśatika	Sārdhaśatika
151		2	word	work
167		1-2	it is to single out	it is difficult to single out
171		24	works <sup>8</sup>	works
171		28	pronouncements	pronouncements <sup>8</sup>
172		1	claim <sup>1</sup> . In the last verse of his Spanda Saṁdoha <sup>2</sup>	claim. In the last verse of his Spanda Sandoha <sup>1</sup>
172		10	Stavacintāmaṇi	Stavacintāmaṇi <sup>2</sup>
181		9	and 1075—	and 1050 —
181	5	1	Abhi., p. 473	Abhi., p. 473, Cf. Fn. 2 on p. 178 supra
193		11	Laṅkāṭa	Laṅkāra
194		5	Loṣadeva	Loṣthadeva
205	5	3	Y.H.D., p. 68	6. Y.H.D., p. 68
209	3	2	निरवद्य	निरवद्य
210		15	1151 A.D.	1155 A.D.
210		28	(See p. 211)	(See p. 212)
212		2	be little	be a little
215	3	1	देशिकदृष्ट्या	देशिकदृष्ट्या
215	6	2	रेतान्धाः	रेतौघाः
230	1	6	भस्माङ्गभूषणा	भस्माङ्गभूषण
236		4-5	Śivānanda (the author, of the Mahā- nayaprakāśa)	Śivānanda II (the author of the Mahā- nayaprakāśa (T))









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